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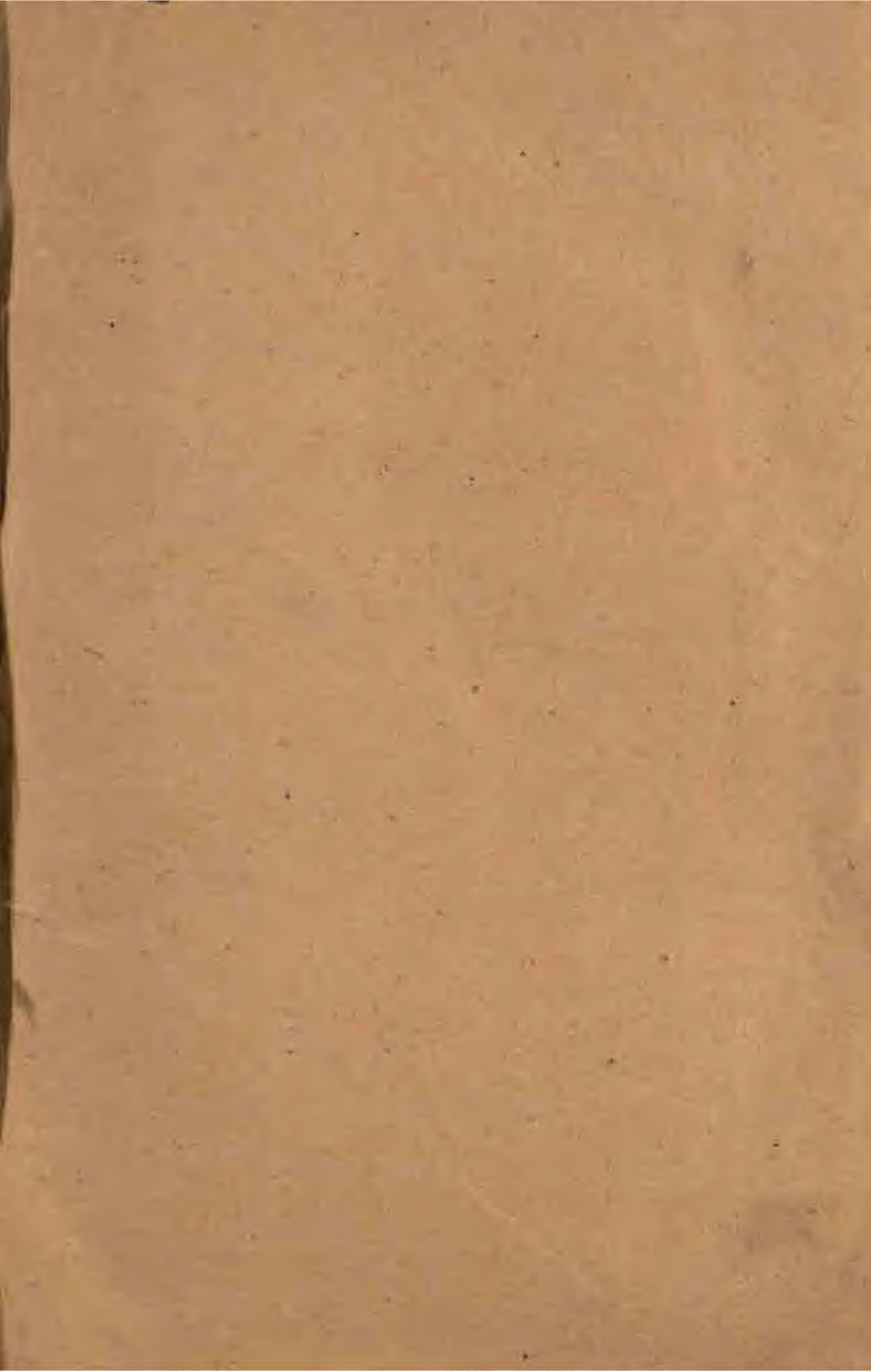
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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[illegible]

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- Page 204, No. 34, line 8, for *Hoysasajsa* read *Hoysasajsa*.
- .. 209, line 12 from bottom, for *ghaṣṭchaka* read *ghaṣṭchaka*.
- .. 209, line 11 from bottom, for *chatta* read *Chatta*.
- .. 209, line 10 from bottom, for *Lūṣapikā* read *Lūṣapikā*.
- .. 209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, for *Dhōraka* read *Dhōraka*.
- .. 212, line 4, for " and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) " read " and *r* and *cā* (ll. 4 and 12) ".
- .. 218, text line 23, for " *दीर्घाद्वयम्* " read " *दीर्घाद्वयम्* ".
- .. 218, text line 31, for " *गुणवत्* " read " *गुणवत्* ".
- .. 219, text line 53, for *गुणवत्* read *गुणवत्*.
- .. 225, lines 15-19, for *Aśhṭāṅgahridaya* read *Aśhṭāṅgahridaya*.
- .. 226, line 4, for " they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 " etc. read " they have to be placed after A.D. 1062 " etc.
- .. 227, line 2, for *Nanarese* read *Kanurese*.
- .. 228, line 22 from bottom, for *Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram* read *Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram*.
- .. 228, line 5 from bottom, for *Ālpakkam* read *Alppakkam*.
- .. 234, text line 14, for *Kulaiya-divākara* read *Kulalaiya-Divākara*.
- .. 235, text line 16, for " *tiṅgalmēṣṭāṭṭar* " read " *tiṅgalmēṣṭāṭṭar* ".
- .. 235, text line 19, for *Virāḍōṣupukku* read *Virāḍōṣupukku*.
- .. 237, text line 29, for " *Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai* " read " *Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai* ".
- .. 238, text line 30, for *eg-kalanēy* read *eg-kalanēy*.
- .. 243, line 12 from bottom, for " *Manmagapṇayan*, *Koṇḍayan*, *Āchchidaran* " read " *Manmagapṇayan*, *Kāmayan*, *Koṇḍayan*, *Āchchidaran* ".
- .. 244, line 15 from bottom, for *Kahatriyaśikhāmanu-vaṇaṇḍu* read *Kahatriyaśikhāmanu-vaṇaṇḍu*.
- .. 245, line 1, for *Vajavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷar* read *Vajavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷar*.
- .. 245, lines 17-18, for *mudal śāṭara* read *mudal śāṭara*.
- .. 248, f. n. 3, for *Mahmūd* read *Mahmūd*.
- .. 263, text lines 12-13, for *इन्द्रवज्र(वज्र)मन्त्रं विष्णुः* read *इन्द्रवज्र(वज्र)मन्त्रं विष्णुः* and omit notes 3 and 4; and in the translation of verse 5 on p. 266, for (Let people hear) the three *gūṇas* and the prowess of (that god), who possesses a *gacchigāṇa* made of gold, viz., *Kapardin*, etc. substitute (Let them be heard, viz.) the birth in *śāṅgacchigāṇa*, the qualities and the prowess of that (god) *Kapardin*, etc. [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshita, M.A., for this correction and the next.]
- .. 264, text lines 49-50, for *सुन्दर(न)सुन्दर(न)सुन्दर* read *सुन्दर(न)सुन्दर(न)सुन्दर*; and in the translation of verse 15, for " and whose devotion (to god) resorted to none but himself " etc. substitute " and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda " etc.
- .. 264, f. n. 3, for *विष्णुः विष्णुः सुन्दर* etc., read *विष्णुः सुन्दर* *विष्णुः* etc.
- .. 268, line 5, for " *Timmana-Bhatta* who was the son of *Kāṇḍēvara Bhattāraka* " read " *Timmana-Bhatta* who was the son of *Koṇḍō-Bhattāraka* and grandson of *Kāṇḍēvara-Bhattāraka* ".
- .. 268, line 16 from bottom, for *Kālā-garāya* read *Kālāgarāya*.
- .. 268, line 11 from bottom, for *Ōḷkra* read *Ōḍra*.
- .. 268, line 8 from bottom, for " the *Naraiṇapāṭam* plates of *Vajrahasta II* " read the *Naraiṇapāṭam* plates of *Vajrahasta III* ".
- .. 268, line 6 from bottom, for *Pāṇ-ḡyārāya* read *Pāṇḡyārāya*.
- .. 269, line 9, for *Madhūrāntaka-Potappi-Chōḷa* read *Madhūrāntaka Potappi-Chōḷa*.

- Page 271, text line 6, for *śāstrulavāriki* read *śāstrulavāriki*.
 „ 272, text line 32, for *dhāra-pūrvāsi* read *dhārā-pūrvāsi*.
 „ 274, text line 32, for *विष्णवीश(म)ि* read *विष्णवीश(म)ि*.
 „ 276, text line 79, delete the figure 2 above *पञ्चम*.
 „ 278, line 17, for *Haḍāvati* read *Haḍāvati*.
 „ 279, line 9, for *Sāraṅgapura* read *Sāraṅgapura*.
 „ 283, text line 14, for *पञ्चमवीरसेन* read *पञ्चमवीरसेन*.
 „ 286, text line 39, for *सद्वत्सल* read *सद्वत्सल*.
 „ 287, text line 12, for *स च* read *स च*.
 „ 292, line 3 from bottom, for *Kudāvirut* read *Īndāvirut*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXI.

NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: G. E. 61.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a well situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Rangēśvara Mahādēva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the *Māl* godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director-General of Archaeology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archaeological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No. 1931. In January 1931 Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent stampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these stampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The writing occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 3' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the *Āryā* metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this *Āryā* verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The language is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an *Āryā* verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are :—(1) the doubling, throughout, of *v* (ll. 5 and 10), of *y* (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15) and of *t* (ll. 3, 8), except in the word *kṛti*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *śāśūmūliya* in l. 12.

The characters belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *śā*, *ph*, *j*, *p*, *w*, and *r* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases; so also sometimes even the tops of *g*

and *ṣ*. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāṇa but also of the early Kharoṣṭhi or Nāpāṇa period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of *g*, the peculiarly developed left member of *kh*, the slightly convex cross-bar of *k* and the base-line of *a* or *ya* bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāṇa records but also with the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial *ā* and *ṣ* are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palaeographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of *m*, *ṣ* and *ḥ*, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's Gupta *Inserr.* No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter *m* engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of *m* is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā¹ but of the time of Kanadragupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharauli pillar inscription of Chandrā,² we notice not only *m* but also *ṣ* and *ḥ* of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandrā is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār.³ It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II, and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of *m*, *ṣ* and *ḥ*, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāṇa record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's Gupta *Inserr.* No. 3, IVA), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālāś at the command of his minister who was a native of Pāṭaliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāṇa records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription⁴ has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters *m*, *ṣ* and *ḥ*. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters spring into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Śiṅghā (Sindan) in Kāthiāwād of the time of the Mahākubera-
pa Rudradāma. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 30 & Pl.

² *Am. Mus. Res. Jour.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172 ff.

³ *Gupta Inserr.*, No. 32, Pl. XXI A.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 337), we find that the letters *m* and *ā* are indeed sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 205, the date of the Jaskan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jaskan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pataliputra.

There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in Siddham, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *ā* in *mahārāja* in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *u* is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *u* in *gaurāṅgasonā* in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāna records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mā* are joined in *sambādhanām* (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare *ā* in *ritāṅkam* (l. 13) and the Kushāna form of *u* and *ā* in ll. 6 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X, of his Tafel IX., but comes very close to that in col. V of the Khatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta. The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are *bhāṣāraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *bhāṣāraka* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, i.e., *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājādhirāja* which the Kushāna kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāna kingdom and where numbers of Kushāna epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathurā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kushānas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The date of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what A.D. or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that Gupta-kōla is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word *Gupta* had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word *prathamā* has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works Dr. K. R. Putak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka=380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the Indian Chronology by Swaminathan Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380 and none in 378 or in 381-82 and that in A.D. 380 Ashvīja was the

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamā* can thus be easily filled up with *Āshāṣṭha*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be *Āshāṣṭha*. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 81 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanatānika family¹. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 81, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a *Mahāśvara* or devotee of Śiva and was called *Uditāchārya*. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was *Upamita*. The latter, again, was a pupil of *Kapila*, and *Kapila*, a pupil of *Parāśara*. We have thus a list of *Mahāśvara* teachers extending over four generations. In fact, *Uditāchārya* has been mentioned as *chaturtha* or fourth in succession from *Parāśara*. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But *Uditāchārya* has been also specifically mentioned as *dasama* or tenth in descent from *Kuṣika*. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and *Uditāchārya* is specified as tenth in succession from *Kuṣika*, the only possible inference is that *Kuṣika*, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher *Uditāchārya* is called merely an *Ārya*, all the others, namely, *Upamita*, *Kapila*, *Parāśara* and *Kuṣika*, have received the supreme designation of *Bhagavat*, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that *Uditāchārya*, who was the *Mahāśvara* teacher living, established two images, called *Kapilāśvara* and *Upamitāśvara*, in the *Gurudhyanam*. The second part of these two names, i.e. *śvara*, shows that it was the *Līṅgas* that were installed. The first parts of these, i.e., *Upamita* and *Kapila*, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of *Uditāchārya*. It therefore seems that the latter established two *Līṅgas*, one in the name of *Upamita* and the other in the name of *Kapila*. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishnu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that *Uditāchārya* put up two *Līṅgas* in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the *Līṅgas* in a place called *Gurudhyanam* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which *Uditāchārya* pertained was then alive, the *Gurudhyanam* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by *Uditāchārya* in the names of his *gurus*. They were *Līṅgas* called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Gurudhyanam* was a place where *Līṅgas* were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded *Uditāchārya*.

This *Gurudhyanam* reminds us of the *dēvādāra* mentioned in the *Pratimā-sūtra* of Bṛhaspati which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues." Bharata, who is a son of Bharata but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of his deity. He meets the *dēvādāra* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of *Dēvāratha*,—whereupon he concludes that his father is dead. The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dēvādāras* mentioned in the *Kuṣāṇa* inscriptions. One *dēvādāra* certainly mentioned

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 23.

² *Pratimā-sūtra* (Triv. St. Series, No. 13), pp. 44 E.

the statue of the Kushāpa sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Harishka.¹ Whether this *dēvaka* " was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Mit near Mathura where these Kushāpa inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some², but rather a cluster of *dēvaka*s commemorating the different Kushāpa rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputāna. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Mandor which is beset with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various Kings of the Rājput family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dēvaka* (= *dēvaka*s). The custom prevalent among the Rājputas namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāpa period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guru-āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā-grha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputāna from the Kushāpa times. *Guru-āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the *Liṅga*s set up in the name and to the memory of the *gurus* of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these *Liṅga*s were or contained the portraits of the departed *gurus*. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guru-āyatana* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru* is again engraved at all after *Guru-āyatana* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru-pratimā-gulān*. The *Liṅga*s established not only were named after the *gurus* Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *śakama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udiṭa. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakull was. Lakull was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāya*- and the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*.³ On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakull was the last incarnation of Mahāśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyātrībhāṇa or Kāyāvatāra which was identical with Kāśān, in the Dabhōi taluk, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

¹ J. R. A. S., 1924, pp. 402-3.

² P. N. S., F. C., 1906-7, p. 31, para. 21.

³ J. R. A. S., 1919, p. 99.

⁴ J. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 154-5.

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Somanātha in Kāpiāwāḍ but is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription is thus known as the *Cintra prasasti* at the reign of the Chauhukya ruler Śāraṅgadēva, and was last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulī. The order and names of his pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya, Kauraka and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name and also stands first in the order. The *Cintra prasasti* however tells us one thing more, namely, that these four disciples of Lakulī were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. There can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of Lakulī and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the *Cintra prasasti* three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vāluṅkirāśi and Tripurāntaka, the last of whom was a contemporary of Śāraṅgadēva during whose reign it was inscribed. Verse 19 of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gṛha*) of Gārgya. While the *Cintra prasasti* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprung up in the line of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that while the descendants of Gārgya established themselves at Somanātha in Kāpiāwāḍ, those of Kuśika were settled at Maṭhura.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakulīśa sect, it clears up the two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the *Liṅgas*, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their portraits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parbhata, Upamita and Kapila, have been styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Ukti-*āchārya* has been called *ḍya*. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let us now take up the first point: How could the *Liṅgas* put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila also comprise their portraits? I have alluded at to the paper on Lakulīśa which I wrote for the *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, twenty-five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the same subject to the *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. As. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 179 ff. This latter contained opinions on the illustrations of the figure of Lakulī whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the outside walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakulī appears he is a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic *signa*, namely, a *śakṣa* or staff in his left hand and a *nitron* in his right. There are however two representations of him which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where the last incarnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two *Liṅgas* with the portraits of Lakulī sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nakṣatrar and the other, in that of Rājāśvār, both at Kārvān. It will thus be seen that the Śiva *Liṅga* has been equated with the representation of Lakulī into one image. It may be asked: What could be the meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakulī was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata- or Māhāśvara-*yoga* which his pupils disseminated. And it is well-known that when a *yogi* passes away, he does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but rather by a *yoga* (not which enables him to pass it through the *brahma nāḍā*, that is, by breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into *Brahman*, if he is a Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāśupata or Māhāśvara. But as Lakulī was a worshipper of

Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorption of Lakull into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that even in the case of Upamitāśvara and Kapilāśvara, we had not mere Śiva Lāṅgas set up here but rather these Lāṅgas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with Lakull in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuṣika, must have been experts in the Pāṇpara-yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have passed away like the yōgis by driving away their poles-vāgu through the brahma-mudhā. They must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all these departed ascetics of the Lakull sect have received the divine title of bhagavat. The teacher, Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and in fact, cannot, be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled ārya. Here it may be asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Bhōsh, to a verse in the 'Citra' praloch.¹ It is with reference to Tripurātaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gāṅgā line, who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chudūkya king Śiraṅgadāva, during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus:

Ita uditāchārya = Uditāchārya trimaṇḍa Gāṇḍa-Bhīharpatiḥ |

Ārya = ārya viśvāmāyā chakṣheṇ chakṣet mahataram ||

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Gāṇḍa-Bhīharpati, viz. the husband of Umā, having made him an Ārya, appointed him sixth Mahattara."

What the verse says is that Gāṇḍa-Bhīharpati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge of the religious monuments, made Tripurātaka an ārya and then appointed him sixth Mahattara. Bühler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and *Mahattara* referred to officers, or were mere titles. The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think that *Mahattara* denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards *ārya*, it is worthy of note that Hāmsachandra's *Abhidhānaśāstram* gives it as a synonym of *gṛahka*, "a master, an owner."² This fits excellently not only in the *Citra praloch* but also in our record. For in the first case we know that Tripurātaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be an *ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial structures to his gurus in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an *ārya* or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakullā. Uditāchārya, we know, was tenth in descent from Kuṣika, pupil of Lakull. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the eleventh generation from Lakull. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G. E. 61 = A.D. 390-91. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakull to A.D. 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago³ that Lakull has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, of Lakull as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakull flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the estampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

² *Manu-Bhāṣya*, par. 10, (v. 23).

³ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 157. J. F. Fleet agrees in this view (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 426).

which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well-dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is set down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue wears, apparently, two garments, the upper or *uttarīya* being made fast to the body by a band, passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a *dhotī*, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakulīśa. The images of Lakulīśa have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the medieval period. None has as far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakulīśa of the medieval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or *lakṣa* and the other a *mūṣalyuga* fruit. Another special feature of Lakulīśa is the *membrum virile* which is shown upraised.* But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a *lakṣa* and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakulīśa. This image† is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A.D.

We have already seen that only four faces of the shaft and one each of the top and the base have been fine-dressed. This clearly shows that our sculpture is not a pillar but a pilaster which was originally stuck up into the wall of some shrine. And we shall not be far from right if we maintain that it was one of many which decorated the exterior of the 'Teachers' Shrine' mentioned in the inscription. The pilaster was already in existence when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the *Śrīya* verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is *in situ* and the engraver has to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

TEXT

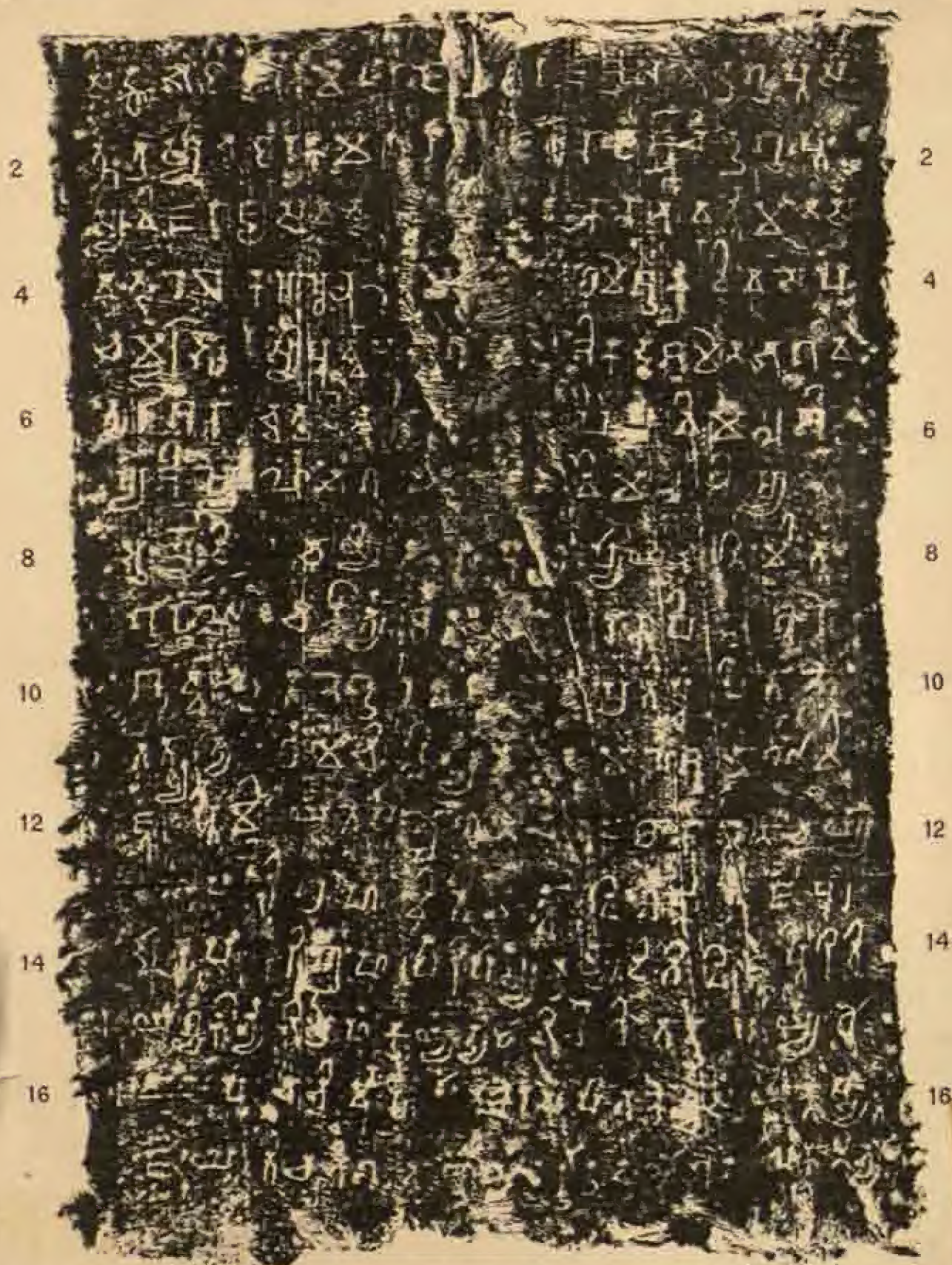
- 1 *Siddham* [1] *Bhāṭṭāka-mahātāja* [rājādī] *rāja-śrī-Samudragupta-va-*
- 2 *tputrasya bhāṭṭāraka-mahātāja* [rājādī] *rāja-śrī-Chandragupta-*
- 3 *aya vija-rāja-sarhvatā[rā]* [Gupta]-*kā-śarvartamāna-sarh-*
- 4 *vatsarā āka-śaśthā 60 1* [pra] *thamā sukla-divasā pa-*
- 5 *chamyādi* [1] *śrīkṣa pūrvāyādi* [lā] *ga[va]-ka-śikṣa-dātāmāna bhāgava-*
- 6 *-Parāśara-chatur[th]v[na]* [bhā] *gevat-Ka[pa]le-vimale ś-*
- 7 *āya-śrīyāna bhāgavad-Upamitā-vimale-śrīyāna*
- 8 *śrīy-Ōdī* [15] *śrīy-Ōdī* [pa] [ava] *pu[ya]-śrīy-Ōdīyāna-nimittān*
- 9 *gurūpām-cha kirtva* [rtham-Upamitāva] *m-Kapilāvatān*

* *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 180.

† For the photograph see *J. A. S. B.*, 1930-31, Epig. Sect.—Ed.)

* The looma may be filled up with *śaśthā-matā*.

* Read *vijaya-śrīya*.



- 10 Gurv-āyatanaḥ guru . . .¹ pratishṭhāpitō² n-ai-
 11 tat-khyāty-artham-ahhīl[ā]khya[te] [attha] mahāśvarāṇā³ vi-
 12 jñaptiḥ-kriyatā sambhōdhanam cha yathā-kā[ṭh]a-śchāryyā.
 13 pām parigraham-iti matvā viśākā[m] pā[ṭh]-pura-
 14 skāra[te] parigraha-pāripālyam kuryād-iti vijñaptir-iti [1*]
 15 Yaś-cha kīrti-abhūdīrham kuryā[ṭh]-yāś-cha-ābhilikkhitam-uparyy-ādho
 16 yā⁴ sa padmahabbir-mah[ā]pātākair-upapātākāś-cha sahyuktas-syāt[1*]
 17 Jayati cha bhagavā[ṭh]-Daṇḍab[ī] rudra-daṇḍō-gra[nā]yakō nitya[m]

TRANSLATION.

Accomplished.

(Ll. 1-5). In the . . . year—of the victorious reign of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādīrāja*, the illustrious *Chandragupta*, the good son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādīrāja*, the illustrious *Samudragupta*—on the fifth of the bright half of the First (*Ashādha*) of the year 61 following the Gupta era.

(Ll. 5-10). On this aforesaid (*nāhi*), (the *Līngas*) *Upamitēvara* and *Kapilēvara* (comprising the portraits of) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. *Arya Udītśchāryya*, tenth from the *Bhagavat Kūṭika*,⁵ fourth from the *Bhagavat Parāśara*, a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bhagavat Upamita* (and) a stainless disciple of the *Bhagavat Kapila*, for the commemoration⁶ of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

(Ll. 10-16). (*It is*) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of *Mahāśvara*. And it is an address to (*those who are*) the *Āchāryyas* for the time being. Thinking them to be (*their own*) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (*them*) as (*their own*) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (*destroy*) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(L. 17). And may divine *Daṇḍa* be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

No. 2.—ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA: SAKA 1182.

By S. SRIEANTHA SASTRI, M.A., MYSONE.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P. G. Halakatti of Bijapur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of *Hāla-Samkaralīnga* at *Arjunavāḍa*, a village, a mile and a half distant from *Hukēri* in the *Belgaum* district of the *Bombay Presidency*. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 8 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the *līngas*, *Nandīn*, and a

¹ This may perhaps be restored to *guru-pratishṭhā-pitō*.

² The *ṭ* in it is quite clear at the back of the uninked stamp. Correct the word, however, into *pratishṭhā-pitō*.

³ Read *mahāśvarāṇā*.

⁴ Read *utchhīdyat* or some such word after *vi*.

⁵ Read *bhagavata-Dandab* or.

⁶ To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed. See the remarks of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, above, Vol. XIX, p. 58.

⁷ For *līngi* (ll. 9 and 15) which is distinguished from *līngī* (l. 11) see J. F. Fleet's note 6 in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 212.

worshipper covers a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The language of the inscription is Kannada, except in the first verse. The *virāma* is represented by the usual Kannada sign, viz., two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The characters are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *aksharas* *o*, *i* and *so*. The use of *ekha* in place of *tra*, as in *samvachhata* (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of *unnadras*, and two forms of the secondary *e*-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as *lo niruvare* for *niruvarege* (l. 68), *topachakravanti* for *topachakravanti* (l. 43), *vitti* for *vitti* (l. 33), etc.

The inscription records that during the rule of the Yādava king Kannara of Dāvagiri, his feudatories Chāvundā-Setti and Nāgarana made a grant of the village Kaviśānpura to Hāla-Basavidēva, an ascetic of the family of Saṅgana-Basava. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vīra-saivism during the days of Bijjala Kalyacharya (c. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition".¹ Later, while editing the Managōji record,² he held that the mention of the names Mādīrāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Lingāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Managavalli record are Chandrarāja and Chandrāmbikā of the Kāśyapa-gotra, while Mahāprabhu Mādīrāja belonged to the Hārīta-gotra. In the present inscription Basava is mentioned as the son of Mādīrāja, the ruler of Bāgavāḍi in the Tardavāḍi-thousand district; and also as Saṅgana-Basava—a name which also occurs in the *Vīraśaiva Purāṇas*. He was devoted to the *Parīṭanas*, *Jaṅgamas* and the *Līnga* (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*prishabha*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kalyacharyas who had also the golden bull as their *dharmya*, being Śaivans, not Jainas as depicted in the *Bijjalacharya-charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kalyacharya family, according to an epigraph³, was born of Śiva and a Brāhmana girl. The genealogy of the donor Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅgana-Basava, then his eldest (*agra*) Next Dēvarājammūpa is mentioned; then a Saṅga; his favourite son Kalidēvarana; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājammūpa himself was the eldest son (i) of Basava, though the Vīra-saiva works like *Bhavarāśarīkūyada kuthi-sūtra-ratnāḍara* mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age.⁴ Unfortunately, it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hāritas.

The record is a Śaivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Līngāyats as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prashāda* (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Parīṭanas*, *Līnga* and *Jaṅgamas*, though emphasised by Vīra-saivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

¹ *Dynasties of the Kannara District*, p. 48.

² *Above*, Vol. V, p. 16.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XL, pp. 42.

⁴ *Kavāḍi Kāvāḍi*, Vol. I, p. 134. The *Basava-śaiva-sūtra*, attributed to Narayana, gives the name Siddhama to the son of Dāvata and Gangadhari (x. II, 20 B.).

Lakṣmīka Pāṇpatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been "*śaṅkama-bhṅg-śrāntas*" and "*mahā-mūkṣevaras*" and also "*Lakṣmīgama-samaya-samuddhara*", i.e., the upholders of the *Lakṣmī-gama*.¹

The date of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārtha, Chaitra, bhānu Amāvāsya, Monday, solar eclipse (ll. 46-47). Putting Randra for Siddhārtha, the date tallies with 12th April 1260 A. C. on which day a solar eclipse occurred.² Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Kṛishṇa as we know that the third regnal year of his successor Mahādēva falls in Vaitākha of Daudabhi, S. 1185 (1262 A. C.). Kṛishṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāvaruṇa-Setti, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bēhāṭṭi grant,³ he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssanga king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Belroja division of Kuntala on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Kṛishṇa and as the establisher of the Ratta kingdom (l. 45). It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Rattas took place before or after Viśhaya had reduced them (Cir. 1238 A. C.).⁴ We know that the capital of the Rattas was transferred from Saundatti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.⁵ A record of the time of Lakṣmidēva II, dated 1239 A. C.,⁶ speaks of Mahāpradhāna Munichandra also as "*Ratta-rāya-pratīkṣh-āchārya*", perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family. After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Ratta ruling family—the Khilāḍi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of Divākaradēva of the Vapaṇakula and as a devotee of Janārdana. Evidently his Vaiṣṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Viṣṇu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vīra-śaiva legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Panḍita-pūrjāna* (l. 34).

The localities mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Tanjavāḍi-1000 (l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavāḍi on the banks of the Bāṁnā, thirty-seven miles north of Bijāpur. Bāgarvāḍi was the centre of Bāga-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḍa inscription of Somaśvara I.⁷ The district Nālenāḍu (l. 49) clustered round the village Nālegrāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri. The district Kūṇḍi (l. 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Ratta Kārtivīrya I (Cir. 1040-1070 A. C.).⁸ Kavi-ḡasapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basaviḍēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nālegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḍa, Koobcharige and Mosaragutti—the Mosaragutti of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. *Kottas* (l. 55) and *karuṇaṇige* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like *ṣuḡka*, *vāḍa*, *taḡa*, *vāṛige*,

¹ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 24 ff.

² *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 122.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 627.

⁴ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 384 ff.

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Belgaum, p. 667.

⁷ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 200 ff.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 272. [Bāga-50 took its name, according to Dr. Fleet, from Taddabāgi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 380) and as Bāgarvāḍi does not appear to be the centre of the division.—Ed.]

⁹ J. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, p. 201.

- 22 śrīmat-praudha-pratāpa-chakravartti śrī-Kannaradēvaṁ Dēvagi-
 23 tiya nala-vijinoḥ sukha-samkathā-vinōdadin-anavarataṁ rā-
 24 jyaṭh-geyuttum-ire tat-pāda-paṇḍ-ōpaḥivi | Chikṭana chikṭa magarḥ vibhayaḥke
 25 Kubṛasāge saṁasvayā rāyarimam muktam Bichugiy=au-
 26 dāryakk-ārith piriya-ātān-ānigam Mallan | [6*]¹ Ātana tuṣṭ-bhavaṁ ||
 27 Chāvumḍam Pārvesi-taliabha-charapa-sarōja-dvay-āmōda-bhri(ri)ṁgam Chāvumḍ-
 28 ḍam tyāga-bhōg-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhū-nri(ri)tya-raṁgam Chāvumḍam
 sāma-
 29 bhōda-prabhru(ri)ti-[sa]jka-mamir-āniga-vidyā-samudrah Chāvumḍam vīra-vairi-
 pra-
 30 kara-samara-samghaṭa(tta)-kā-āgni-Rudrah || [7*]² Yone negaḍ-i Chāvumḍana
 manad-amadi
 31 Nāgarājan-akshila³-niyōgañan⁴-enippa Divākaradēvana putrah Vāgas-āva-
 32 y-āmhara-mitrāḥ || [8*]⁵ Tyāga-guṇakke tēy-vane samasta-nri(ri)pāḥ-niyōga-va-
 33 rtanā-āṁge nivāsam-īshṭara viśiṣṭara tēhama-pōshapaṁga-ollāga-
 34 ram-endu baṁgū(ḥ)arvad-ī dhama paṁḥita-pāṁjātanam Nāganana-ā Janārdanana bha-
 35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānurāganam || [9*]⁶ Saṁgama-Basavana agra.....⁷ kam
 36 Dēvarāja-mumpana tanayam Jangama-parnam.....⁸ ra
 37 Saṁgam priya-sutan=enippa Kalidēvarasam || [10*]⁹ Kalidēvamuni-
 38 pan-ātmaḥa sale mūḥagadōḥge mēṇava māḥaḥva-dēvam gelidam asa(ā)na-
 39 basanava¹⁰ chhalar-adhikam Hāla-Basavidēva-muniradi¹¹ || [11*]¹² Svasti samastā-
 40 bhuvan-āroḥyam¹³ mahā-māhēvaram¹⁴ Kaviḥsa-purava-
 41 r-ādhi(s)varatam suvamṛṇa(vatṇa)-vrisabha¹⁵-dhvajam [tē]saiḥṭhi-purātha¹⁶-pād-ārḥ-
 chaka-
 42 ruḥ mahā-linga-jāṁgama-proṣāda-niyata(ru)ḥ sama-
 43 ya-bhakti-sampannam(paṇa) śrī-Basavarājan-ān(an)vayarum-appa tapa-chakra-
 44 [va]rtti¹⁷ vīra-bhāti Hāla-Basavidēvaṁge ā mahāpradhānam Ṣa-
 45 ṭṭa-rājya-pratishṭh-āchāryyanum-appa Nāgarasaru S(ṣ)aka-varuham sōira-
 46 da-nāra-yambhatta-yeraḍaneya Suddhārtti(tthi)-samvachharada¹⁸ Chai-
 47 tra bahula amāsa Sōma-vāra sūryya-grahagadalli Hul(ge)-
 48 roya Sōmanāthadēvara eṣṭin(an)ilhiyalli ā Chavḥi-Setṭiyar-ā

¹ Metre : Kanda.

² Metre : Sūpādhāt.

³ Read 'akshila'.

⁴ Read 'niyōgañan'.

⁵ Metre : Kanda.

⁶ Metre : Uṇṇamāḍi.

⁷ The letters erased are probably ja Saṁpāḥ⁸.

⁸ Probably the missing word is āroḥya.

⁹ Metre : Kanda.

¹⁰ Read 'ruḥ'.

¹¹ Read 'ān'.

¹² Metre : Kanda.

¹³ Read 'āroḥyam'.

¹⁴ Read 'āroḥyam'.

¹⁵ Read 'vrisabha'.

¹⁶ Read 'purātha'.

¹⁷ Read 'tapa-chakravartti'.

¹⁸ Read 'samvachharada'.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse I. Invocation to Siva.

V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.

V. 3. Praise of Saṅgama-Basava who had unflinching faith in —

Living

V. 4. The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas: among them was Śrībhaga, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.

V. 5. Praise of Kannara.

U. 16-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, Paramāśvara, Paramahastūraka, lord of Devārāvati, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a Trinētra (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rājā of Māyava, terror of the ruler of the Gūrjara, the establisher of Telungarāya—*Praṇṭha-pratāpa-chakravartī* Kaṇṇarādēva was ruling at Dēvagrī in peace and wisdom; the dweller at his lotus-like feet,

V. G. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikla, was the younger brother of Malla; Malla's son,

V. 7. Chāvūḍa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.

V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaraśeṣa of the Vāgasa family.

V. 9. Frances of this Naga.

V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.
 Vy. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest....., Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among
 the Jāgamas..... Saṅga (, *His* 1) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa. The son of Kalidēva,
 the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome
 the pain of hunger and thirst.
 the lord of Kaviśārapura, the

the pain of hunger and thirst.

LL. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mahāmāhātmya*, the lord of Kaviśaṅgapa, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Pada* tanas, belleted in *Laṅga*, *Jāyama* and *Prasāda* and was the descendant of *Baṣavarāja*. Soṅṅ, was *Hala-Basavidēva*. *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgaraja, the establisher of the *Ḥaṭṭa* kingdom, and *Chamḍi-Setṭi* requested him for the history of Kaviśaṅg-*urṭma* of *Nūla-nāḍu*, on Monday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the dark half of *Chaitra*, during a solar eclipse in the year *Siddhārthi* (corresponding to) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of *Sāmanātha* in *Huligere*.

LL. 51-75. Giving the history of the place during the four *yugas*.

Lt. 50-55. These give the history of the place during the last years.

Li. 55 & 56. The emperor Mādhāta gave to the god under the name Adkanātha, this village (i.e., Ravilāsapura), the fields and the dues from them, viz., *totan* and *kuruvangi*.

LL 55-66. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chanda-Setṭi and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of acetics, Hila-Basaviḍēva, along with the taxes *ḥomasi*, *hargu*, *vanṭi*, *talavṛiti*, *amṭavala* in the Kūṇḍi province and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hejjuggiya-haliba*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Śvayambhu-Mallikārjuna, Saṅgamēśvara and Nūḡēvara and also for the purpose of feeding *Jangama*.

11. 65-76. At the command of Chandī-Setti, Nāgarema made an allotment of the dues from the village of Kavilāśapura, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from Kavilāśapura the tolls, *aśda*, *śala*, *śūrya*, *ṭappaya-bāḥa*, *grāma-draya*, *amā*, *śāla*, *śya*, *grāma*, *mudra* and *nāḥi* and *nīlāśpa* were assigned to Nāgēvara; the *toruṇṇige* to the god Mallāvara and *śetṭurige* to the god Saṅguntēvara and for feeding the *Jangamas*.

11, 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nāle-nāḷa, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Bagaju devotees. The *nānādēśis* and *mammuridagḡas* made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kaviśāpura and the donor Basavarāja.

No. 3.—A NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTAČAMUNEL.

In the transcript of the Arjunavāda inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri's reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in L 35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line (L 36), are only partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters *āgūḡas* and the sign of the mutilated letter in L 35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the *ā* vowel is connected might be safely read as *h*. Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been *ya*. In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the *ṛ* sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was *Kā*. With this restoration the verse will be read as:—

L 35 Saḡgana-Basavaṇa āgūḡa h[?]gaḡakaḡa

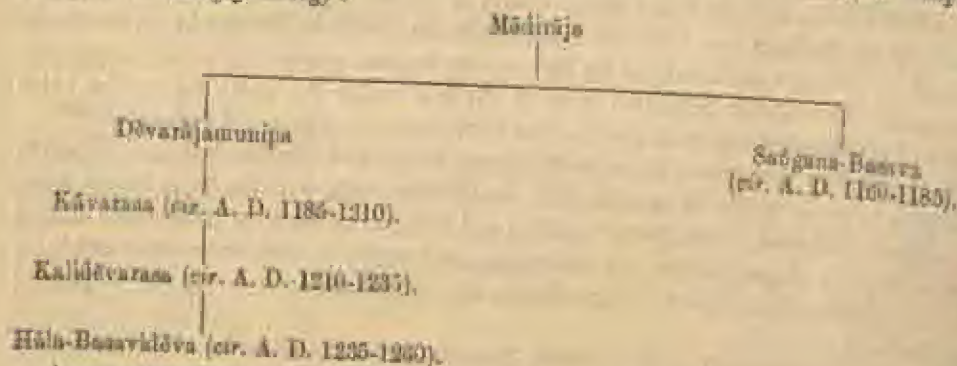
L 36 Dēvarāja-mumipana tanyam [ṛ] jaḡgama-parusaḡa [Kā]vara.

L 37 saḡganaḡ priya-mān-aḡippa Kalidēvarasaḡa

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this:—

"Saḡgana-Basava's elder brother who was absorbed in the *linga* was Dēvarājamanipa; to his son [Kā]varasa, who was a touchstone to the *Jagannaḡa*, was born the dear son Kalidēvarasa."

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saḡgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations. This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastri, in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kalidēva's son was Hāḡa-Basaviḡḡa, the donor of the present grant; and lines 5 and 6 tell us that Saḡgana-Basava was a son of Mādīrāja, the lord of Hāḡavāḡi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy:—



As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Saḡgana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Liḡḡāyat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Changī-ḡeḡḡi, a minister of the Yadava king Kannara (i.e., Kṛishṇa), and his friend Nāḡarasa granted the village Kaviśāp-

purs to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A. D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅga-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A. D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅga-Basava. According to the *Basavarājalekha Rūpa*, the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅga-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bagevādi, was a minister of the Kalyacharya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A. D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅga-Basava of the Arjunavāḍa record is identical with the 'Apostle of Lingayatism' of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Virasaiva faith, with king Bijjala.

No. 4.—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA. SAKA-SAMVAT 1313.

By G. V. AGARAYA, B.A., BOMBAY.

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs. Da Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited. The source from which they came originally is not known. They are three in number, each plate measuring 10" by 6½". Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing. The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only. All of them are in a good state of preservation. No ring or seal is attached to them. In weight they are 257 *tolas*.

The inscription incised on these plates is written in Nāgarī script and Sanskrit language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of Vijayanagara is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅga was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bakkarāja and his son was Harihara. In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, the eastern ocean, the Setu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkana, from the Turushkas by the minister Mādhava, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman Chāmuḍa of the *Bhāradvāj-śūnyā*. He was governing the province of Koṅkana under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Sāṃkhya*, the author of *Kāṇva*, performer of *Mohādāna* and the teacher of *Nitiśāstra* (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village Paramarūpa in the Vārana-janopada, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it Chaudalāpura, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmins of different *gōtras*. The object of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister Naraharidēva purchased two of the granted *vratis* from their holders and made a gift of them to Vijjala-Patnavardhana of the Kāṇva-gōtra. This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri-gōtra and was the son of Brahmarasa. He was a disciple of the (sage) Vidyāśankara and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon *tithi* of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse, during *Aśvini-nakṣatra*

and *Prithi-gōga*. According to L. D. Swaminathan Pillai's *Epigraphia* the date regularly corresponds to A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The *Mādhavarāja* of the present grant has to be identified with *Mādhava*, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the *Hārāmukhaśāstrakāra* inscription¹ of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chāruṇḍa, the *Upaniṣadśāstrerpa-pravāṇa-guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśhvilāsa-Āryakṣanti. That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*śaṅga*) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āngirasa-gōtra. This *Mādhavarāja* also figures as a minister of Harihara II² in another grant of the same year, i.e., Śaka 1318, which was published long ago.³ The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of *Mādhava*'s father and gives the name of his mother, i.e., *Madhāmbikā*, and of his older brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives *Vaiśākha* in place of *Chaitra*. Both the grants were issued on the same date, i.e., on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.)⁴. As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *śukla* month of *Chaitra*.⁵ As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhaiah has shown, *Mādhava* flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391⁶. The conquest of Gōvā by *Mādhava* mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (= A. D. 1386) as in that year he was already known as the "Lord of Gōvā". The copper plate alluded to above shows that *Naraharidēva*, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed *Mādhava* as the governor of *Jayantī-pura-maṇḍala* after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. *Vidyāsākhya*, the guru of *Naraharidēva*, was another name of the famous *Vidyātīrtha*, the guru of the brothers *Mādhavāchārya* and *Sāyana*, who considered him as an incarnation of *Mahādeva*.⁷

The list of the dances mentioned in the charter is as follows :—

No.	Gōtra.	Father's name.	Name of the Dance.
1	Kātyapa	Rāmadēva-Pattavaradhana	Vāmana-Pattavaradhana.
2	Vaiśākha	Mahādeva-Bhāṭṭa	Dāmodara-Bhāṭṭa.
3	"	Sūrya-Bhāṭṭa	Ajā-Bhāṭṭa.
4	Kātyapa	Rāmadēva-Bhāṭṭa	Hast-Bhāṭṭa.
5	Bhāradvāja	Nāgādēva-Bhāṭṭa	Kāśhaka-Bhāṭṭa.
6	Vaiśākha	Vitthala-Bhāṭṭa	" "

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 251.

² The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (*J. S. E.* 1907-68, p. 244) has not identified him with *Mādhava* the Śaiva minister of Bukka I.

³ *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471.

⁵ 1862, p. 36, *J. A. S. and Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 371.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *A. B. and I. E.*, 1922-23, p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 3.

No.	Gotra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donor.
7	Vasishtha	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Harī-Bhatta.
8	Ātrēya	"	Jānu-Bhatta.
9	Parāśara	Rāma-Bhatta	Mallīka-Bhatta.
10	Kāśyapa	Nārāya-Jyēśvarīd	Gaṅgādharma-Jyēśvarīd.
11	Bhāradvāja	Mahādēva-Bhatta	Dāmōlara-Bhatta.
12	"	Ajjan-Bhatta	Mahādēva-Bhatta.
13	"	Nārāya-Bhatta	"
14	"	Vitthala-Bhatta	Saṭam-Bhatta.
15	Ātrēya	Mallinātha-Bhatta	Nārāya-Bhatta.
16	Bhāradvāja	Vitthala-Bhatta	Namhari-Bhatta.
17	Vasishtha	Gōvinda-Bhatta	Ananta-Bhatta.
18	Bhāradvāja	Ajjan-Bhatta	Kṣātra-Bhatta.
19	"	"	Jānu-Bhatta.
20	Śāṇḍilya	Bhīmadēva	Hāchava.
21	Bhāradvāja	Ambappa	Parimappa.

Of these *erittis*, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Kṛishṇa-Pattavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Pattavardhana of the Kāśyapa-gotra, by the minister Naraḥari-dēva.

TEXT.¹

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*; 5, 8 *Vasumatīśakā*; vv. 8 and 9 *Indravajrā*.]

Plate I.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
- 2 य । नमस्तुंगशिरर्धुविचंद्रचामरचार-
- 3 वे । वैजोक्चनगरारंभमु(म्)लक्ष्माय शंभवे ॥ [१^०] ज-
- 4 यत्वेय जगदीजं लीलाकोलः प्रियचिद्यः । यस्य
- 5 दंष्ट्राकुरे भूमिबलसत्पद्मवायते ॥ [२^०] चंदलं क-
- 6 मठेअरः फणपतिर्नैलत्वमानं वती
- 7 वर्षाणां ततपी दत्तावजितुलामावद्य य-
- 8 स्य [सि]ताः । त्रिंशत्कल्पचिह्नं कुलाचलकु-
- 9 लं मेदुच सत्कर्षिकालीलां यत्र दधाति

¹ From the plates as well as from the impressions.

- 10 भाति तदिदं रम्यं रसा(स)[स्वा]रसं ॥[३*] श्या-
 11 तां भारतवर्षदक्षिणदले देशोऽस्य कर्णा-
 12 टकस्तन्मध्ये विजयाहयास्ति नगरी सा-
 13 रातिभिर्दुर्जेया । या कृत्वोपरिवर्तिनी-
 14 मपि पुरं लिप्थोरध[ः*]स्तेर्गुणे[ः*] सुभ्रामंलि-
 15 हृदयनिर्मलरुचा मन्वे हस्त्यूर्जिता [३०*]
 16 [धं]शे यदोरभिनवांश इवाच्युतस्य श्रीसं-
 17 गमादजनि संगररंगमोमः । योवृक्षरा-
 18 ज इति धिक्कृतशतुरेष तामध्यनिष्ठद्वय
 19 मध्यमलोकपालः ॥[३*] तत्पुनस्त्वपदं प्रयास्ति
 20 बलिजिह्वस्त्रविद्धिधुरस्तुर्द्धावनतत्पर-
 21 य सुमहासैन[ः*]नित्यद्वयुग्मैः । योयुक्कस्य-
 22 भवमंगल इति योपत्युमाकांतयो[सु(र्य)कृत्वा]-
 23 दिह सज्जैर्हरिहराख्यां यो वक्तव्यम्-

Plate II : First Side.

- 24 तां ॥[३*] आकृष्णास्यसरिदरोत्तरतटादापूर्वपाद्योनि-
 25 घेरासेतोर्वनी चिरादवति सत्यापु(प)चिमांभोनि-
 26 धेः । श्यातेस्त्रिगुणनामभिर्हरिहरे राजाधिरा-
 27 जादिभिरावोर्वीपतिमौलिलालितपदांभोजे ।
 28 मघोवक्ष्ये ॥[३*] तस्याश्रया माधवमंजिवर्यो दिशं
 29 त्रिगोपुर्महता बलेन । गोवाभिधां कीकणराज-
 30 धानोमन्वेन मन्वेरुणदणैवेन ॥[८*] प्रतिष्ठितास्त-
 31 य तुरुष्कसंधानुत्कथ्य दीप्ता भुवनैकवीरः ।
 32 उन्मूलितानामकरोपतिष्ठां श्रीममताष्टादिभु-
 33 धाभुजां यः ॥[८*] भारद्वाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-
 34 श्रितारापतिश्चासुडाभिधमृशुरेद्रतनयो मंचीश्वरो
 35 माधवः । श्रामल्लोकणनोष्ठं हरिहरलोणोपतेरा-
 36 जया धर्मानं कुरयत्यनन्वयशिशिव्वालोष्ठदग्धा-
 37 म्पुनः ॥[१०*] स च निर्विनाशिनभूपात्मस्त्वोपनिषदां व्या-
 38 कर्ता श्रीवाममानां प्रकाशयिता आख्यानां कर्ता म-

- 39 द्वादानानां विधाता मोतिशास्त्रोपदेशा सकल-
 40 शुक्लान्कतो माधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-
 41 नमधितिष्ठन्माल(ग्नालि)वाहनशके वर्धनां चयोदशो-
 42 त्तरचयोदशश्रवामतोतायां वर्तमानप्रजाप-
 43 तिसंवम(त्त)रे चैत्रमासे समावास्यायां सौम्यशरे च-
 44 त्विनीनक्षत्रगते पुष्यदंते मोतियोगे सूर्योप-
 45 रागे पुष्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरू-
 46 पनामग्रामं स्वपितृनाम्ना चौडलापुराभिधान-
 47 मयहारं कृत्वा योनिगोत्र(त्रु)त[त]त्संपन्न-

Plate II : Second Side.

- 48 भवतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः
 49 ऋक्शाखाध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिवाङ्मणे-¹
 50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्तं प्रादात् । तेषां नामगोत्रवि-
 51 हरणं यथा काश्यपगोत्रस्य रामदेवपट्टव-
 52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनपट्टवर्धनस्य हस्तिरेका
 53 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-
 54 दरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य नारण-
 55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य(ष्)-
 56 पगोत्रस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य
 57 हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-
 58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका । वासिष्ठ[गो]त्र-
 59 स्य विह्वलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका ।
 60 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-
 61 ट्टस्य हस्तिरेका आच्यगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपु-
 62 त्रस्य जानुभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका पराशरगोत्रस्य श्री-
 63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य मेतारभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका काश्य-
 64 पगोत्रस्य नारणज्योतिर्विष्णुत्रस्य गंगाधर-
 65 ज्योतिर्विदो हस्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य महा-
 66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य हस्तिरेका भा-
 67 रद्वाजगो(गो)त्रस्य अज्जभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभ[ट्ट]-

¹ The stroke is not necessary.

68 स्य उत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य नारणभट्ट-

69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य उत्तिरेका भा[र]-

Plate III.

70 द्वाजगोचस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शर्माभट्ट-

71 स्य उत्तिरेका चाचेयगोचस्य मल्लिनाथभट्ट-

72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य उत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-

73 गोचस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य

74 उत्तिरेका वामिष्ठगा(गो)चस्य गोविंदभट्टपुत्र-

75 स्य अनंतभट्टस्य उत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोच-

76 स्य चर्जभट्टपुत्रस्य क(के)शवभट्टस्य उत्तिरेका

77 भारद्वाजगोचस्य चर्जभट्टपुत्रस्य जानुभट्ट-

78 स्य उत्तिरेका शां[हि]त्यगोचस्य भोमदेवच(पु)त्रस्य

79 हरिहरस्य उत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोचस्य चर्ज(क)स्यपु-

80 त्रस्य पंमल्लपुत्रस्य उत्तिरेका¹ एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-

81 णानां नामगोचविवरणं ॥ तत्र मैतारभट्टस्य उत्तिरे-

82 गंगाधरज्योतिर्विंदो उत्तिरेका च पवित्राग्निगोचस-

83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विश्वाशंकरकृपावलोक-

84 नमुधासिद्धेन संवर्धितो माधवराजिन कृतः²

85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीमाधवरहरिदेवनामा नं(मं)चोम-

86 रो राजसंसदि तदग्रामोणब्राह्मणपीरपरिवा-

87 रजनसमलं सम्यत्त्वेन क्रोत्वा तं हे ह-

88 त्तो काम्यपगोचय विठ्ठलपट्टवर्धनपुत्रस्य

89 लक्ष्मणपट्टवर्धनाम्ने विद(दु)ष्टे ब्राह्मणाय स्त्रीपु-

90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हरि(र)ज्योदकदानधारापूर्वकं सं-

91 पादात् ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3: Invoke Śiva, Viṣṇu in the form of the Bear, and the Earth.

V. 4. The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Karaṅṣṭaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarsha excelled the city of Indra.

Vv. 5 and 6. In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama; his son Bakkarāja, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ Read 'पुत्रस्य'.

² The stroke is no necessary.

V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Kṛishṇā to the Sāta and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

Vv. 8 and 9. By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkaya. And having killed the Turnahkas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them.

V. 10. By Hariharā's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhāradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chāturpā, was protecting the Koṅkaya country and re-establishing the *Dharma* which had been destroyed by the wicked.

Ll. 37 to 41. This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upaniṣads*, the illuminator of the *Saṁśāgamas*, the author of *śāstras*, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nirāśāstra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Ll. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvini, the *yōga* being Prīti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmanas, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *śāstras* and were the students of the *Ṛṣi-śākhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vāraṇasī-juṣṭapāṭa, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chaudālāpura after his father's name.

Ll. 50 to 51. Names, etc., of the donees (see list above).

Ll. 51 to 91. The minister Naraharidēva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (*he says*) Vidyāśūkhara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *śrēṇis* from Mañārā-Bhaṭṭa and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmanas and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Kṛishṇa-Paṭṭavaradhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavaradhana.

No. 5.—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMMAN.

By G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three copper-plates which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshandā, a village six miles to the south of Parakimīṣi in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*¹, but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2½" broad and has a ring-hole about 1" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The alphabet of the plates resembles that of the Poddavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II² and of the Vyāthapṛasāphā grant of Umayarman.³ The inscription under notice is written in Sanskrit and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *śakabāṭṭ* etc., and *śaṅkhāṇi* etc., which come at the end. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, e.g. *śarvva* (l. 5), *śarvva* (l. 6), *śarvva* (l. 8) and *śarvva* (l. 12); (2) the *apadānta* is used in line 4; (3) the final form of it

¹ Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mahārāja Viśākhavarman*, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (his) father", granted the village *Tampōyaka* in *Kāśāśa-daka-Pāñchālī* to *Vishnuvarman*, *Śrīṣṭhivarman*, *Agnivarman*, *Nāgavarman* and *Śiva-varman*, all of whom belonged to the *Atrīya-gotra* and were the residents of the village *Sabarathēpja*. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donor's father, who was in heaven. The date of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hemanta* in the 7th year (of the king's reign).

The family to which *Viśākhavarman* belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the Chinese grant of *Indravarman*¹ we learn that the division *Kāśāśa-daka-Pāñchālī*, which is also mentioned in the present grant (l. 2), formed a part of the *Kālīga* country. This would suggest that *Viśākhavarman* was a *Kālīgādhipati* (i.e., the chief of *Kālīga*) like *Umayarman* of the *Bṛhatprāsthā* grant, *Chandavarman* of the *Kamartī Plates*² and *Saktivarman* of the *Rāgola plates*.³

Of the places mentioned in the charter, *Śrīpura*, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the *Sirpuram* (18° 53' N. Lat.; 83° 50' E. Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the *Zamindari* of *Vāvilavāla* in the *Vizagapatam* district. It is only 3 miles south of the *Nāgavālī* river on whose northern bank *Varāhavarman*, the well-known district of *Kālīga*, was situated. *Sirpuram* is not far away from *Viśākhapattanam* (modern *Vizagapatam*) which is said to have been designated after the god *Viśākhasvāmin* who was worshipped there. Possibly *Viśākhavarman*, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. *Kāśāśa-daka-Pāñchālī* must have comprised the region round the modern village *Korothagā* where the plates were found. *Tampōyaka* I am not able to identify.

TEXT.*

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति[१] विजयश्रीपुरात्परमदेवतः[२] वयमभारकपादमलः श्रीमहाराज-
- 2 विशाखवर्मा कौरासीडकपञ्चाला तपोधकयामे कुटुम्बिनः
- 3 समाज्ञापयति चरुत्वेपयामोन्माभिरम्भद्वयभारकपादानां

Second Plate; First Side.

- 4 सुरलोकादप्रच्युतानां भूयःपुष्पाध्यायनाय चाचन्द्रताराकंप्रति-
- 5 समसहारं कृत्वा सर्वकरभरेषु परिहृत्य चावेयमगोत्रे-
- 6 भ्यः गङ्गमेतद्विष्णुशर्मोचष्टिशर्मोयन्मिशर्मोनागशर्मोशिवशर्मो(श्रु)-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 7 भ्यः[३] संप्रदत्तस्तदेवमवेत्य पुष्पाचितमर्घ्यादामिच्छाम्योपपन्नान्
- 8 कर्त्तव्यमिति[४] चाज्ञाभीगिकश्रीदेवः[५] [न]वत् ७ हेम ७
- 9 अथ च व्यासगोत्रो हो श्रीको दिवस २०^६

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁵ Read "व्यासगोत्रो"

⁶ Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VIRAKHAYARMAN.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

lib.
A fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript, showing a circular hole and handwritten text in a South Asian script.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

Third Plate : First Side.

- 10 वहुमिवहुधा दत्ता वसुधा वसुधाधिपैः [1*] यस्य यस्य
 11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्] [11*] पट्टं वधेमहन्नाणि
 12 स्मर्त्तुं मोदति भूमिद[ः] [1*] चाक्षेप्ता चतुर्गता च तान्येव नरके
 वसेत् [11*]

No. 6.—SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104.

By STEN KONOW.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitral, where a bridge leads across the river.

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharōṣṭhī characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger'.

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation*.

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasind Din, who had been good enough to add the following information: 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly 5½' × 2½' in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 48 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, i.e., May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time. A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock.

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription. Some details will be mentioned below.

The inscription covers a space measuring 3½ ft. by 1½ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the *akṣaras* is 3 to 5 inches.

In l. 1 Cunningham's plate has five *akṣaras*, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages. The first is a distinct *ma* in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left. I have not met with a

* *A. S. B.*, Vol. V, pp. 82 f., and plate XVI, No. 5.* *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 9 f.

ma of this shape in any other Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *akshara* is the *ma* of *damanukh(o)* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 12, and it is possible that we should read *ma* here. The second *akshara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *da*. In one of my estampages the *e*-stroke is unmistakable, and the *akshara* itself is almost identical with the *da* of the Mathurā elephant inscription².

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening *aksharas* were *ru*, we might think of an old form of *surunda*, which must, in some way, be connected with Saka *ree*, gen. *rrundā*, king. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first *akshara* which can be read stands below the *da* of l. 1, and is so like the *da* of Takht-i-Bāhi ll. 4, 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal, bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read *da*.

The ensuing *akshara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in Takht-i-Bāhi l. 4 and in the Pīṭā record.

It is followed by *ma*. In one of my estampages the right-hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed *e*-stroke.

Then comes a distinct *wa* and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly *śaśadama-śa 4 4*, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharoṣṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *śaśadama(e)* Śas 4-4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8, (of) Śrāvya.

It is true that other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions present *śaśama* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *śaśama*, *śaśama*, and Pali has *śaśama*.

What precedes [*śa*]*śadama* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *śaśatara*, which we have before [*śi*]*śatara* in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first *aksharas* are, however, legible, being *śa*, very similar to the *śa* in l. 3 of Takht-i-Bāhi.

The ensuing 10-12 *aksharas* are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following after *śa* in Takht-i-Bāhi. They probably comprised some term for 'time', and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the *aksharas* *śa* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāhi and one might think of restoring [*pra*]*di*-[*stara*].

Then follows a fairly distinct *śha*.

At the beginning of l. 4 some *aksharas* have been lost. The first *akshara* of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct *ye*, and it is tempting to restore *śeṭṭhe* or *śeṭṭhe*, cf. Sanskrit *śeṭṭha*, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace *sa*. We should then have the sentence *pradistaraṇde śha śeṭṭhe*, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly *garukea*, but I cannot explain it. *Garu* is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit *guru*, heavy, but *ke* remains unexplained. *Garukea* may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Part 4, plate XVII, 5.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. X, 1.

After *sa* one *alshara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e*. I tentatively read *garu-keasarthar*, for the sake of the heavy...

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as *e.g.*, in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription.

In my edition of Kharoshthi inscriptions in the *Corpus* I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-83 B.C., in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription was identified by him with the 19 March, A.D. 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A.D. 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticised, especially by Professor Rapson¹, who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Ares, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Saddo date to 16 A.D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the *Kharoshthi Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the Vikrama era, if the Sodasa inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has proved² that the Āmohini tablet is dated in the year 43 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier³ and Mr. Jayaswal⁴. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article⁵ Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscript leaves written in early Kushāṇa characters, and shown that the \mathbb{H} symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the \mathbb{H} symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharoshthi ja, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Sakas and the Kushāṇas seems ... to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap Sodasa ruled ... so late as the second decade of the first century A.D.' And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Āmohini tablet and the Patika plate to one and the same era.

Mr. Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription is dated in the year 20 B.C., discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Ghavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 189 ff.

² The date of the Āmohini tablet of Mathura, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

³ *Jud. As.*, lxx, 1930, p. 216.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, xvi, p. 245.

⁵ *Acta Orientalia* X, pp. 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalavān have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takht-i-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the *J. R. A. S.*, and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skt. *āyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharoṣṭhī dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *āyasa* is the genitive of the name *āya*, *Ayā*, *Ayā*.

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *āyasa* characterizes the era as instituted by Ayā. It must, I think, have another meaning, viz., to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar.

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdaur inscription¹ is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas² is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase³ seems to open.

Mr. Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *ka*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr. Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *ka* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *sa*.

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *āyasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous Ayā coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by Ayā, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, viz., in Māhara, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila.

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records, one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Meira well, the Minochrā, the Shahdaur, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loryān Tangai, the Rastnagar, and the Skarah Dhīst inscriptions, to the latter, *e.g.*, the Takht-i-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record :

TEXT.

- 1 *ma ... dho ...*
- 2 [*sambatarne cha**] *duadanyo** era 4 1
- 3 *isa* [*pra**]*kī[maride*]* *sa*
- 4 [*sedu**]*ye garubasa[ritra*]* *je*

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.

² *Quintessence philologique* Annapolis 1931, p. 2.

³ *C. I. I.*, No. XXX.

SANDO ROCK INSCRIPTION.

28A



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, CALIFORNIA

SCALE: ONE INCH

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

TRANSLATION.

In the 104th year, the S. Śrīvapa, at this [instant, by . . .] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA Aiyer, B.A., M.B.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription long ago¹ but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz., the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mūḷa-maṇḍapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Guṇakīṇḍa, i.e., Vijayāditya III, Chālukya-Bhīma I, Kollavigaṇḍa, i.e., Vijayāditya IV and Chālukya-Bhīma II (ll. 3-7). This Bhīma is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇava whose foot-stool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumba and who was a worshipper of the God Paramāśvara. Paramāśvatāraka Bhīmāśvara. After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words:—

(So*)ka-nipā-sava-sata-samākhyā-vi *śhu gāṭṭaka tribhīr-adhikṛtsu* etc.

The letter *vi* which follows the words *sava-sata* and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is *viṃśati*. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be Śaka 923 expired (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The paleography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nyipakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jātābhāja-Bhīma-nripati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following:—*Saṃgrāma-vijaya*, *Arasur-ābharaṇa*, *Sukam-chintāmayi*, *Kūṭi-Dilīpa*, *Saty-āvatāra*, *Samar-aikavīra*, *Paragaṇḍa-vīrakṣaṇa*, *Dina-kalpadruma*, *Bhūpāla-Mīra*, *Achūṭa-vīra*, *Vikrama*, *Dhama-ājaya*, *Saṃprīya-dharaṇa*, *Dutṭha-kāl-ānala*, *Anubhāya-Vikrama*, *Bhūṭa-aikadīpa*, *Achāra-Bhagīratha*, *Kārmūka-Rūma*, *Apurāṇa-Dadhīchi*, *Vanā-ābhīrāma*, *Abhinav-Anāka*, *Sūrya-kula*, *Samprāṇa*, *Rāja-Makaradhvaja*, *Vikrānta-Chakrāyudha*, *Samanta-rāj-āgrēya*, *Gopāla-sūkṣa*, *Māna-vāna*, *Rāja-Makaradhvaja*, *Vīra-Naramekha*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, *Ariṣṭa-tāṭṭhaka*, *Tyāga-sampārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu *mahārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jātābhāja-Bhīma. The

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājārāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājārāja. We know that it was Rājārāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājārāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōja and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-kula-cōm*), would show that he was of Teluga-Chōja origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārṇava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōjas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājārāja I conquered the Vēṅgi country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kālīṅga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgādī plates of Rājendra-Chōja I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma¹. We also know that Rājārāja invaded the Vēṅgi and Kālīṅga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Munnuḷi-Bhīma and Hirudaṅka-Bhīma² seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000³. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgi country had just then come to an end and that no Chōja king prior to the time of Rājārāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgi or Kālīṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇava and whom Rājārāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājārāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇava. Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgi and the Kālīṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kālīṅga⁴. Kollarigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kālīṅga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikalīṅga⁵. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgi and Trikalīṅga⁶. The fact that Dānārṇava-Nripakāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇava IV, i.e., the father of Vajrahaṭṭa IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahaṭṭa V which fell in A.D. 1038⁷. Since Maṇḍukāmārṇava, Guṇama II,

¹ S. I. T., Vol. III, p. 421, v. 25.

² *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1906, p. 88.

³ According to the Rameswaram grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 340).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2nd. Vol. XX, p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇava V and Vajrabasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrabasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇava which commenced¹ in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gāṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgi which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr² plates of Kulottuṅga-Chōḷa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Pāja of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇava applied for help to the Chōḷas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṣastipūṇḍi grant³, dated in the 8th year of reign⁴, to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date⁵, his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I invaded the Vēṅgi country. The invasion of Rājārāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgi country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kumbhavā, the daughter of the invading Chōḷa king⁶. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōḷas must have helped Dānārṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōḷa invader Rājārāja I captured Bhīma-nripa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kāṭinga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgi country and the rule of Dānārṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇava's fight with Kāmārṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshtrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwa, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhōṭa, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshtrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gāṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nripa, also called Karikāla-Chōḷa and Jatā-Chōḷa, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

¹ [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 331.

⁴ As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 331.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kalinga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bha-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmāśvara¹.

TEXT.²

I

- 1yaksh-śvara-prabhṛti.....m-śvarāya dadatā vadatāḥ ka śva
Chōja-Tripētra-vasudhā-patīnā samānaḥ 1- S[va]ti Śrīma-tarm[ān]-maka
.....
- 2[śānām Mahāśvara-vara-pta(s)].....dhān-āmara-Doragā-prasād-śārinā³. śimha-
[ma]hā-lāḥ[harānām⁴ antaka-Siv-ālaya-tat-ārāma-pravaritana-prabhṛti].....
- 3pati[ś]tānām Chōjānām ku.....[y]āditya-Guyakāṇḍa-Chālukya-Bhīma-nripa-
raṇa⁵-śāstrikṛita-Chālukya-varha-pradīpāyanāna-Kōllavi-gaṇḍa-pri.....
- 4dēvyām Gyaṇ(Gaṇ)ryyām Kumāra.....m Bhīm-āpar-āvatāraḥ Bhīma-
parākramaḥ pravartitana-mah-āhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan-darpp-āntaḥ [ba⁶ yathā
yōga].....
- 5Dāna-par-ārgava⁷ tat bhṛti.....V[ai]ḍumba-prabhṛti-rāja-rājanya-rāji-
rājata⁸-pīthastham-aṇḱa-sahasra-sātakumbha-sambhūta-prabhṛti-
6kati-sūtra-prabhṛti-vichitranāka-śāstrik-śāstrikṛita-ānna⁹-rūpa-śmūly-
āṇḱa-raṇa¹⁰-dyuti-pātala-vīrachit-āndra-chāpam-a¹¹kyi.....
- 7lōkanārītham-avanim-ava.....[bh]akti-namamam rachit-āṇjali-puṭam Bhaga-
vataḥ Paramāśvarasya Paramabhāṣṭārakasya śrīmat-Bhīmāśva].....
- 8kaupīya-nava-lōka-sāstrikya-ri.....śu yātōshu tribhūta-adhikāshu cha-
turīthanyayāt-purastān-nirasta śāstrik || Bhīmāśvarasya dēvasya Kāl.....
- 9śva rūpōja janma-janm-ś[ā]ti].....[dha]raṇpatih Kyta-yugē Trīś-yugē
Bāvapah Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍu-Pīth-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvanul yugē nva.....
- 10li-yugē Śauryyādi-dharmā.....ritum-śaḥ nripatih Chōja¹²-Tripētrō-
bhavat 1- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhaviḥyan-vā bhūpatih-dāna-sātryyataḥ.....

II

- 1 nāpt bhaviḥyati 1- chintyā-chintā.....
- 2 la dhāvan syandana-yādaḥ sapura.....
- 3 tūrya-Ottirya-mahārūpavān-a[pa].....
- 4 pataiyat Patachakra-bhīma-tipav[ā].....
- 5 trūya-viśāla-magḍapa-rīsa.....
- 6 jōshu Bhagadatta śva turagē.....

¹ I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

² From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatesubba Ayyar, B.A.

³ Read -śārdila.

⁴ Read -śāstrikānām.

⁵ Read -rātaḥ.

⁶ Read -cha.

⁷ [The reading is -parāśvaras which might stand for -parāśva-draṇa.—Ed.]

⁸ Read -rājita.

⁹ Read -ritum.

¹⁰ Can the symbol between "a" and "ri" be taken as "dha"?

¹¹ Read nripatih=Chōja.

18-A

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[illegible]

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥
 द्रुपद उवाच ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीमहादेवाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीहरिभ्यो नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीरामाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीलक्ष्मणे नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीसुग्रीवे नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीजयस्यै नमः ॥ २० ॥

- 7 tatad Śatakra[tu]r-api svarggan¹-tanō.....
 8 masu sthōyāt(d)-bhuvī yāvad-arkka.....
 9 shu bahushv-ath-āst Karikāla.....
 10 śaiśavō Kṛishṇa-nripasya vā[chā].....
 11 bhīhatya mad-ōddhatān apa.....
 12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuh.....
 13 ntyai sumukhat-prachandah²nyayūyu.....
 14 śchalam ava-bhagani³-padam Andhrama.....
 15 nah prāk sāmanta-māny-ātavika-dri.....
 16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vasōd.....ya.....
 17 Dānārṇava-Nripakāmō yō yudhī sat-sakala-asinyam-abhīhatya-dāsam.....
 18 m-avinōt parinētum-Bah chitram su-dūram-api chāru rmanantam Kāmār-
 ṇavan-divam-ani.....
 19 bhūt vyaktam vyasīmapatatsv-iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇavam bhuvī nayan.....
 20 t vinayād-anya-bhūpatih⁴- Tyāgēna Karṇam-api rūpatayā Manōjam tōjō.....
 21 ś samad-ān(t)makam yah :- Sa śrīmān-Jatāchōja-Bhīma-nripatih sat-Gaṇjā⁵-
 Bhūtirāvā.....
 22 tha yōgatah :- Sasy-āpānya chatu. aya bhīchhaga-chayam Bhī.....
 23 maṇḍali-ākhūmaṇḍ :- Gaṇḍabhūtirāvah :- Saṅgrāma-vijayah :-.....
 24 ga-dhava[ah] :- Anasār-āhharagaḥ :- Sakavi-chuntāmaṇih :- Śau.....
 25 kṛitti-Dillpaḥ :- [Sa]ty-āvatārah :- Samar-aika-vīrah :-Virabhata.....
 26 ..raṅga-mallaḥ :- Paragaṇja-rākshasah :- Dīna-kalpadrumah :-.....
 27 ndrah :- Bhūpāla-Mērah :- Achalita-vīryah :- Chaturadga-Rā.....
 28 Vidyādharaḥ :- Vikrama-Dhananījavah :- Saujanya-dhava[ah] :-.....
 29 nanah :- Dushṭa-kāl-ānalah :- Asa[hāya]-Vikramah :- Kara.....
 30 ..yug-āchārah :- nagōvāya-Bṛihaspatih :- Satya-Ma.....
 31 rūpanah :- Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(na)ka[h] :- Achāra-Bhagīratih :-.....
 32 Kāmuka-Rāmāḥ :- Atithādityan :- Aparāga-Dadhichih :-.....
 33 nah :- Vamī-ābhīrāmāḥ :- Abhinā(na)v-Āntakah :- Sūryakula-vāsah :-.....
 34 Sundarah :- Rāja-Makaradhvajah :- Budha-janaupārah⁶ :- Samvyakta-Bhā.....
 35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhah :- Samasta-rāj-āgrēyah :- Rāja-kula.....
 36 rah :- Gōndaja-Sūhasah :- Māna-sampūrṇah :- Kahatriya-kula.....
 37 [Ā]rah :- Chalaranga-Rāmāḥ :- Raṇānga⁷-mpigēndrah :- Vira-Narasiṁhah :-....
 38 hōdsvah :- Karikāla-Chōlah :- Arirāja-bhīhahah :- Sa.....
 39 h :- Tyāga-mahārṇavah :- Naralōka-Rudrah ([*] Sakala-bhī.....
 40 athira-sanniya-ghaṇanadh(y)-Adga-Kālimka-patihu nāja.....
 41 larallōpi parikōpi-Rōddalal-antu māroḍja s.....
 42 liyuro kōpaku Bōtupḍa Gupaka-vijayitupḍa.....
 43 krambu ādhilōchi sōdhilōchi gunakoni Bhīmōiva.....
 44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gālaktambu digguyalu kapi-sūtra-bahu.....

¹Read svarggam tanō.....²Read sa-mukha-prachandah.³Read ava-bhagani³.⁴Read bhūpatiḥ.⁵Read mad-gaṇjā.⁶Read Budha-jana-ōddrah.⁷Read Rāṇa-rasgaḥ.

- 45 tādāpalaḥ gulliyalun-dutti-mbula saḍḍula roḍā.....
 46 rāyallana tana rūpu bhayāḍa nīrvāṣiḍḍiḥ gāyanabhambā.....
 47 dāyikrāyakuḥajya Dākarambi.....
 48 paritalla [1*] Ivagai ṣṛi-kṣ-Rā.....
 49 kṣoḍḍār

No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMAKADEVA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

The charter under examination consists of three copper-plates which were found in 1939 in a field in the Nimmina village of the Kudala taluk in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjam to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular seal. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " while the diameter of the ring is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and that of the seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh $77\frac{1}{2}$ *tolā*s, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each face of it having 11 lines; but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Śaṅkabhava family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are *ṣṛi* and *roḍ* and the last letter is *ṣṇi*. There are traces of three letters between them.

The characters belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjam plates of Nīrībhūjādēva.¹ As Kielhorn² has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; e.g., *śaṅk* (l. 12), *anṣṇ* (l. 20), *śaṅk* (l. 31) and *anṣṇ* (l. 35). For medial *a*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *a* with a rounded curve to the left, as, e.g., in *pāṇa* (l. 21) and *śaṅk* (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ā*. The sign for *ṣṇ* has also been used, though only once, in *pāṇ* (l. 21) and *śaṅk* (l. 21). The *Anusvara* is marked in two ways: (1) by the nasal dot on the top of the letter as in *śaṅk* (l. 4), or in *śaṅk* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *śaṅk* (l. 19) and *śaṅk* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect Sanskrit prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *śaṅk* (l. 40) (for *śaṅk*), *śaṅk* (l. 39) (for *śaṅk*), *śaṅk* (l. 40) (for *śaṅk*), *śaṅk* (l. 40) (for *śaṅk*), *śaṅk* (l. 42) (for *śaṅk*), found

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 388 ff.

² Above, Vol. VII, pp. 161 ff.

missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final *t* are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the date of the inscription would be the **second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja**.

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Śailōdhhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (= 619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,¹ the Buguḍa Plates should, on palaeographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguḍa and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty, can it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhlita of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavavarman Sainyabhlita of the Buguḍa Plates? But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavavarman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguḍa grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,² an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhya-pāda. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahādīva Tivara-dēva belonging to the Śōmavamśi rulers of Mahākōśala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Palaeographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.³ The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant may have been transcribed from the wrongly supposed Prakrit form of Tivara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākōśala, the present record as well as the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāsikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākōśala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhya-pāda (Sarpurā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tivara-dēva. In that case the Pārikud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent palaeographic difficulty the Buguḍa and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a founder of Śaśāṅka. In the Pārikud Plates, Madhyamarājadēva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Āvamaṇḍha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a *Chakravartin*. In the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (l. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 100 L.

² The name has been read as *Sutvara* in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to *śaśāṅka*.

³ His date will be about the middle of the 8th century B. Prof. Bhattacharya is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Ganjām Plates of Amoghavaraha I (Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa Giridāsa III, was the ruler of Mahākōśala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tivara-dēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramadharmārāja*, *Mahā-śaśānkarāja* and *Paramāśvara* which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailodbhavas were after the rule of Śaśānka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōṅḍōḍa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailodbhava rulers. The name read as Yaśōbhīta till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhīta. It was pointed out in the Kōṅḍōḍa grant¹ that in l. 22 the plate read *narapaṭir-Ayaśōbhīta*. This reading is authenticated by the present grant also. Banerji's correction² into *narapaṭishu* Yaśōbhīta is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked. Even Dr. Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjam Plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yaśōbhīta* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayaśōbhīta*.³

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguda Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhīta (II). Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that Sainyabhīta was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II⁴. In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that Yaśōbhīta, i.e., Ayaśōbhīta and Madhyamarāja were different persons. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguda Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of Yaśōbhīta⁵ (i.e., Ayaśōbhīta) II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupta writing on the Kōṅḍōḍa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point. The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The last pāda of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājādēva-guṇa-dāyid-rājyaṃ pātuh prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājya-pat-prāptavān*. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *dīcya-pada* while Ayaśōbhīta II got the same abode, i.e., *mokṣa* in his own kingdom.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant Kōṅḍōḍa has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kwag-yü* (or *qu*) 's of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṅḍōḍa, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjam while Fergusson placed it 'somewhere between Kuttak and Aska' in the Ganjam district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Oṭa country, through a forest, for over 1,200 li and reached *Kung*

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 255, note 2.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 285, l. 21.

³ On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l. 12 should be read as *Arasabhīta*. In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be *Ayaśōbhīta* and *Arasabhīta*. In the Khurda Plates we find *Śrī-Sainyabhītaga-pāṭha* (*paṭha*) *prarūpa-vipul-āmalā-yāśaśānkarāja-satata-vijayābhītaga* etc. Similarly cf. verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *patarthā-sand*. For *Arasabhīta* cf. verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may, however, be pointed out that the Ganga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the title of *Rasabhīta*—Above, Vol. XVII, p. 332.). In the case of *Sainyabhīta* we probably have to take the name as a *Satavahana* compound (*Pāṇini*, II. ii. 33-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid'. The epithet *prarūpa-vipul-āmalā* given to *Sainyabhīta* in the Khurda Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 144, note 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. XI, p. 283.

⁶ See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 197.

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 23 *chī(chā)ḥ-chīfā-vakīrām(kīrām)* prachapdā(hi)vdāp vaddh-ākashati khimach' pu-
nar-apī navatē yat-kīlām(tah) sampragabhd(bhah)¹ || 11 ||²
- 24 Kōchhū-vī(vā)nya-mṛigopa sārddha[m*] rāmatē(nte) tatād(hā) sthiti³-līlayab(yā)⁴ *
kōchit(ch)-chōrdh(v*)-a-mukhā mayikha-
- 25 kīraṇa-jvāl-āvali-prēkahapab(tāh) [*] kōchit tāla-guhōdarēhu niratē⁵ dhūm-āvali(t)-
pā(yi)ua(h*) s-
- 26 nō(nyō) vāyu-phal-āhrva(bu)-bhakala-niratā(h*) kōchit(n*)-nū(ni)r-āhārakāh | (t*)-
tham yōga-jushō vibhāya vasat(h*)
- 27 dhyaṇastī divyān padān⁶ chitran(m)Madhyamarājadōva-triguṇāch-dkrid rājyān
p⁷ tat-prāptavām(vān) || 12 ||⁸ Tasy-ābha-
- 28 vat-sakala-lātra-vīdhā-vāh | śrī-Dharmmarāja itā sūnur-adhiti(dhita)-dā-
tāh | (t*) tasy-ā
- 29 ā-nī(ni)mmala-yakāh parivardhamān(m*) pōdan Harēr-lō(iya) na māyati
maritī-likhāh⁹ || 13 ||¹⁰ Rājyam lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-
- 30 darpād-aviṣaṇa-tayā¹¹ Mādhavō jh(jyō)shtha-bhāvām(vān) t¹² tasyā tasmād-apas-
trān¹³ kṛta-vishama-matī(r*)-vītra-
- 31 hā Phālekāyām | yuddha-kahōbhōma(na) la(bha)gnō nṛpotiparam-asau samāḥ |
(śrī)tes T(iya)ś-ākhyah¹⁴ t¹⁵ pa-
- 32 kōchit(kōchit)-tōn-āpī sārddham punar-apī vijitā(tō) Vindhya-pādāhu jīrṇāt
(jīrṇab) || 14 ||¹⁶ Sauṛyān¹⁷ śrī-yauvanath-
- 33 rājyam-ekaikyā(kā)h madā-mā(kā)rakāh | sarrah. śrī-Mānabhītasya nṛ(vi)kār-
am-upasthitah(tah) || 15 ||¹⁸ Ala-

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 34 illaṅghapura¹⁹-kōpāt | Parama-māhātīratō mātē-pitṛi-pādānudhyāt(tah) Pa-
35 rama-bhātī(tā)rakō Mahārājā²⁰dhīrāja²¹-paramēsvam(h*) śrī(ma*)d-Dharmmar[ā*]-
jādōva(h*) kōhāh || Āmūt²²-Rōṅgō-

¹ Read *baddha-āhrva-phay-ābhīrāh*.

² Pālikand and Kōpāḍḍa grants have *gao-satoh* *atpragabhd*.

³ Pālikand grant reads : *sārddham-āharanantatō*.

⁴ What looks like an ascender above it is merely a depression on the plate.

⁵ *Chīfā* unnecessary.

⁶ Read *akāra-āhrva* as in the Pālikand grant.

⁷ Pālikand grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Kōpāḍḍa grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted - most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like. *Ek chāt-vayā-avīṣṭaṇa kōchit-ābhīrān rāma-sutān* *Magā-Ed.*]

⁸ Pālikand and Kōpāḍḍa grants read *ajpāt*.

⁹ Read *dōm-guṇa-āhrīd rājyē-pi*.

¹⁰ Read *avastya-bhāh*. The suggestion to read *avastā-āhrīd* in the Kōpāḍḍa grant is not correct. In the Tekhād Plate the reading is *avastya* as *avastya-bhāh*. It is to be noted however that the root *mā* (in the Divyād group) is *avastya* only.

¹¹ Verses 12-14 of the Kōpāḍḍa grant have been omitted from the present record.

¹² In the Kōpāḍḍa grant also the reading is *tayō* which has been wrongly read as *teyō* : *tayō* has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.

¹³ Read with the Kōpāḍḍa grant : *dāhā-āhrīd-āhrīd*.

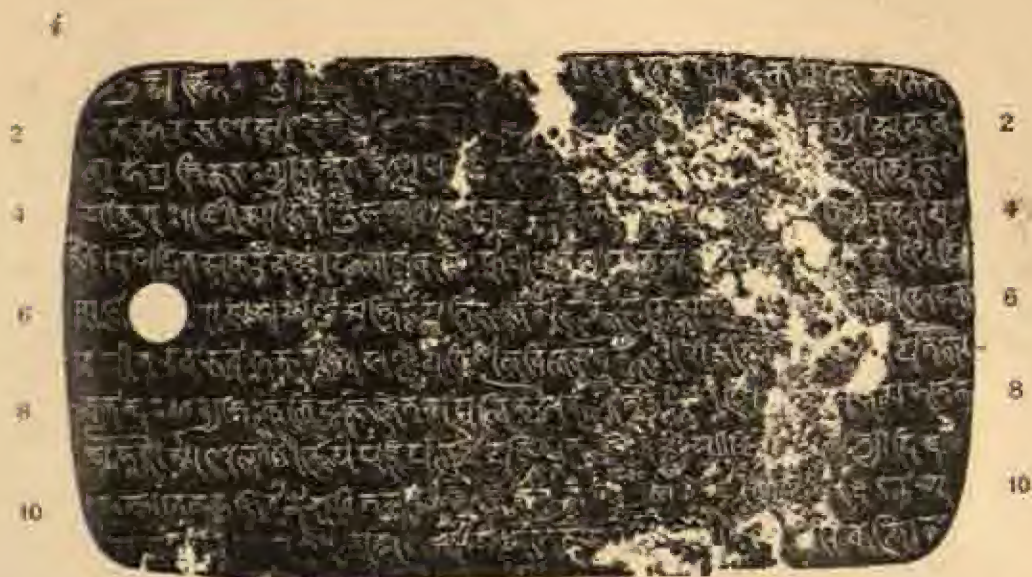
¹⁴ Read *Tripr-ābhāṇa* or *Tri* as in the Kōpāḍḍa grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.

¹⁵ Kōpāḍḍa grant records two more verses after this.

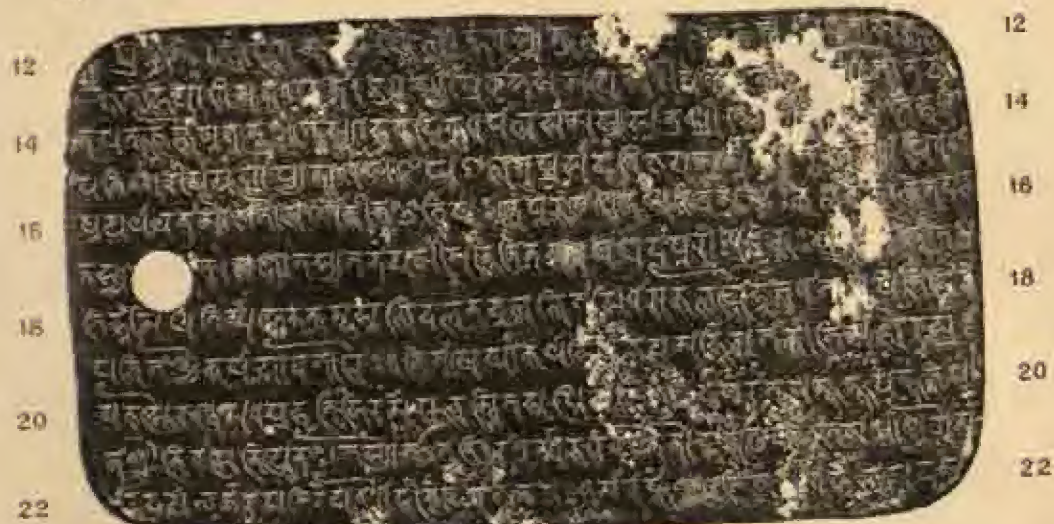
¹⁶ The reading of the first letter is not very certain.

¹⁷ *Ja* is written in a smaller letter between *rō* and *pr*. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.

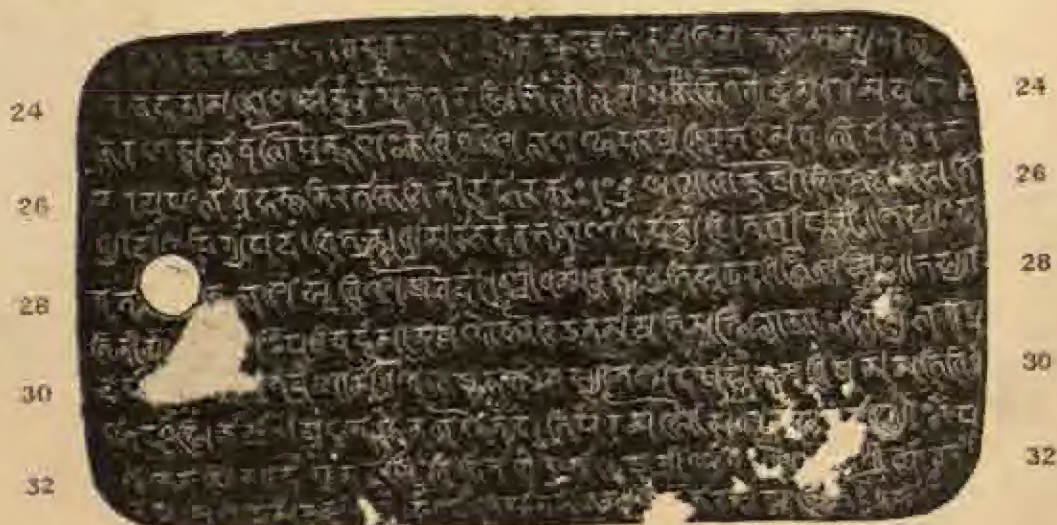
¹⁸ Read *āhrīd*.



ii a



ii b



34	34
36	36
38	38
40	40
42	42
44	44
46	46

48 48

50 50

52 52

- 36 da-maṣṭalā śrī-sāmanta-mā(ma)hāsāmanta-mā(ma)hārājanakārājaka¹ - rājapustrah(ṛ-ā)
[ntara*]ṛga-daṇḍā-
37 yaka-(dāṇḍa*)[pāṇik-ṣparika-stakad(ṣṭad)](tadāyuktaka—Ed.)-viniviyuktaka-sakaraga-vyavahā-
riṇa-nānyānā-cha² vrā(hrā)hmuṇa-
38 purōg-ādī-vāhaka³-janapadārṇ(dān) yath-ārha(rh*) mānaya(ti*) vō(bō)dhayati jūṣṭa-
yati viditam astu
39 bhavatiām Khidīngahāra-viśha(ya*)-sammānadhā⁴-Nivisā-grāmāṭ(mah) :⁵ Śavaridēva-
dikhida ||⁶(dikahita)-
40 bhāṭṭa(bhaṭṭāya) Vachakha(taa)-gōtrīya pañcha-riśha-pravarā-anupavarāya⁷ Kau-
thuka(ma)-śākhāya Chhandō⁸-charaṇāya
41 mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇy(uy)-ābhivṛṭ(d*)dhayō(yō) salila-dhārā-puraḥ⁹śarēṇa
chandr-ārka-kahiti-sama-kāla(m*)-a-
42 kar(rī)kṛtya tāmvra(mra)-śāṇa(sa)tvā(nō)na pratipṛā(pā)ditā(tō)-amā¹⁰ na kōchit
(kēnachit) vighātita(vya*)m-it || grāmasya śmāṭ kuta¹¹
43 Paschima-diśahi(diśi) Trikuta Jōḍapāpādi vaṣṭarā¹² vālmika-vahūka(śka)-
sila-vaṣṭarā¹³ Uta(ta)ṭa-diśahi(diśi)
44 Trikuta : Pāṇi-śākhā(t)śraimāgīvāḥhaivapī [*] Uta¹⁴ra-diśahi(diśi) digha-sila [*]
Pūvhi (Pūrvasyām) jōḍavavārā¹⁵
45 vaḥḥa[*]Pūva-utara-kōṇāhi sōmagī¹⁶ Trikuta : Pūva-akṣhiṇ[ā]hi sē, .ma Trikuta :
Pūva-diśahi khō-
46 llāḍa[*]Pūva-dakṣiṇa-kōṇāhi vāgha-guḥ(guḥā) Trikuta [*] Dakṣiṇa-diśa pavadi
sila gāḍi savatī ||

Third Plate : Reverse.

- 47 'paradvau jimpirah¹⁷ || Samvat. [9*] [Val]śākha-sūdi-prathamā-pakṣa-dvīṣ(yā *)
48 Uktān-cha dharmma-sāstrā[*] Vahubhiḥ (Bahubhiḥ-) [vasu]dā. datām(datā)
rājā(ja)bhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[*]
49 rya(ya)ṣya yaṣya yadā bhūm(a*)-¹⁸ tasya tasya [tadā phalam] || [16*] Sva-
dat[*]ām para-dat[*]ām-vā yō ha-
50 rēti(ta) vasundharān[*] sa viśṭhāyām krimir-(bhūtvā) pūṇi(bhiḥ*) saka pūchyatēḥ
(tā) || [17*] Rūkō(Dūtākō)-
51 tra mahākahapata[ḥa] ... dēvō(vah) [pradhānatama(mah)] | Lāṅchhitam Jayasinghāna
52 utkīṇṣam Chchā(hibhaya) jūḥ(na) mītiḥ(iṭi) ||

No. 9.—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

By B. B. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāra of Mālwa was founded by Dambharasinhha, the younger brother of Vairasinhha of Mālwa. The rulers of this

¹ Read -rājānā-² Read 'ābhīḥ' -yāṇā-cha.³ Read -māhāyika-⁴ Read -anupavarā-⁵ Read -anupavarā-⁶ Read -pāṇi-śākhā-śraimāgīvāḥhaivapī. These five readings are : Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jambhadrā and Agastya.⁷ Read Chhandogya-⁸ Read 'bhūmāḥ'.⁹ Read śmāṭ kuta. [Kuta, śmāṭ, etc. are evidently Prakrit formations.—Ed.]¹⁰ The first syllable may be read 'vō'.¹¹ The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an avagraha but it cannot be connected with the previous line.¹² Devāna unnecessary.

family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānskāra and Dūnarpur States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwa, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūgaka, the modern Arbhūgā in the Bānskāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānskāra State. These documents, together with the one already published,¹ throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEVA OF MALWA:
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116.

This inscription has already been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17.² It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandalesar (Maṇḍalīśvara) Mahādēva at Pānākūṣā in the Bānskāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *ī* in *īśa* (l. 20) and *ī* in *īśāśa* (l. 2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.³

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll. 1, 26, 36 and the concluding portion of l. 38 which are in prose. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: *v* and *b* are not distinguished as in *vānādhara* (l. 8), *valasut* (l. 16), etc.; *ś* is used for *ṣ* in *śaṅkārā* (l. 9), *śāśa* (l. 11), *śāśa* (l. 18), etc. and *ṣ* for *ś* in *śr-śāśa* (l. 20), *śaṅkārā* (l. 34), etc.; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *gar-ramukha* (l. 12), *darppa* (l. 14), *-dāhārā* (l. 11), *paṭra* (l. 13), etc.; *nasāra* is used for *nasā* in *śāśāra* (l. 2), *śaṅkārā* (l. 3), etc. as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *śāśāra* (l. 26), *śāśāra* (l. 33), etc.

The inscription is a *prastāva* of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwa and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vāgaḍa. Its object is to record the foundation of the temple of Maṇḍalīśvara (Śiva) at Pānākūṣā (Pānākūṣā) and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler Maṇḍalīśa. After the usual praise of the god Śiva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arhata mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv. 7-9). Mohajadēva is then mentioned (v. 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v. 12). Sindhurāja is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably Bhōjarāja. The next four verses are devoted to the

¹ *Jal. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

² *Op.* 71.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 200 and Vol. XVIII, p. 96.

praise of this king and his army. King **Jayasimha** is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses. Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born **Dhanika**, who built the temple of **Dhanēśvara** near **Mahākāla** (at **Ujjain**) (vv. 26-27). After him, his brother's son **Chachcha** became king (v. 28). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** on the bank of the **Rōvā** (**Narmadā**) in the cause of **Siyaka** and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces **Satyarāja** who is said to have received a fortune from king **Bhōja** and fought with the **Gūjaras**. He married **Rājasri** of the **Chāhamāna** family from whom was born **Limbārāja** (vv. 32-33). His (i.e., **Limbārāja**'s) younger brother was **Mandalika**, who took General **Kanba** prisoner and handed him over to **Jayasimha** (vv. 34-37). **Mandalika** is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of **Mandalēśvara** (**Śiva**) at **Pāmēulākhātaka** (vv. 45-47). This king **Jayasimha** is said to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one **viśāṭṭapa** on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at **Pāmēulākhātaka**, **Maṇḍalikā** also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind **Nagna-taḍḍaga** and (the temple of) **Varuṇēśvari** together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of **Natāpātaka**, **Pānāchhi** and **Maṇḍaladraka** (vv. 47-52). The date is given at the end as **Vikrama-Samvat 1116** (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by **Asarāja**, son of **Kāraṭha Śrīdhara** of **Valabhi**.

As to the personages spoken of in the inscription, kings **Siyaka**, **Muṇḍadēva**, **Sindhurāja**, **Bhōjadēva** and **Jayasimhadēva** are the well known Paramāra rulers of **Mālwa**. Up till now only one copper plate inscription¹ dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1053) of the time of **Jayasimha** (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of **Vāgaḍa**, **Dhanika**, **Chachcha**, **Satyarāja**, **Limbārāja** and **Mandalika** are mentioned in the inscription. The names of **Kankadēva** and **Chandapa**, the two rulers after **Chachcha**, which are found in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136² are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the **Arthūpā** Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by **Kankadēva** against the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king of **Karṇāṭa**.

From verse 36 of the present record, **Mandalika** who is called **Maṇḍaladēva** in the **Arthūpā** Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King **Jayasimhadēva** (I) of **Mālwa**.

Many of the localities mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus **Pāmēulākhātaka** (vv. 39, 46) is the village of **Pānābhērā** where the inscription was found. **Natāpātaka** (v. 50) is the village called **Nāṭāwārā** lying about two miles to the west of **Pānābhērā**. **Dēulapātaka** is the modern **Dēulwārā** situated about 4 miles south-west of **Jagapurā**. **Bhōgyapura** is the village **Bhagōrā** which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of **Pānābhērā**. **Pānāchhi** is now called **Pānāl** and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from **Pānābhērā**. **Maṇḍaladraka** is **Māḍalā** of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of **Nāṭāwārā**. **Nagna-taḍḍaga** (v. 48) is a tank called **Nūgūlātālāva** and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of **Mandalēśvara** at **Pānābhērā**. **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the **Narmadā**. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

¹ For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I, p. 199.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 46.

³ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 2 (1) and 52, *Arjā*; vv. 3-6; 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 52, 59 and 60, *Sāreṇuvakṛīṭta*; vv. 7 and 16, *Vasantatīlaka*; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 32, *Śreyadhara*; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59 and 61, *Anushubh*; v. 21, *Mālinī*; v. 25, *Śālinī*; v. 58, *Upajitī*; vv. 40-43, *Tōṭaka*.]

1 श्री श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

धृतगगनसिंघुपटः शैलसुताशालभञ्जिकासुभगः । जयति लगत(क्ष)म-
मंडपमुल्लसंभो मञ्जादेवः ॥११*॥ जयति शिवो यन्मु[वि] . . .
. [१*] ————— [॥२॥] —
— ७ ७ — [म—]

2

मांककलया सद्यः प्रापद्यासते

वामः प्राप्य सुरा जगाम गरलघामादधोरः सुखं ।

ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेत्रोक्तः पद्मगो — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७
७ — — — ७ — — ७ — [॥३॥*] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७
— — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —

3 तैर्दुर्मैर्मौसलिताः पुनश्च दक्षिताम्बुडैर्दुलेखांशुभिः । भूयः स्फारमुज्जंग-
भोगश(ग)रलघामोन्मिभिः संभृताः शंभोः पातु कठोरकंठ ७ ७ —
— ७ — — ७ — [॥४॥*] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —
— ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ —

4

हेते कुटुंबे(क्ष) हरिः ।

मैनाकावृ(क्ष)दयोः स्वसुखस्य यत्ने को नाथ मे वर्जते मिथ्यां
भवतः प्रियत्नगसुतादिभ्यो हरः पातु यः ॥५॥*॥ यथास्ववृ(क्ष)द
— ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ —
७ ७ ७ — — — ७ — ७ — [१*] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — [वि*].

5

तते श्रीमक्षिणाप्रक्रमे

कंडावृ(क्ष) परस्पर इत्यभिधया दिव्यः पुमालुलितः ॥६॥*॥ शालोद-
कंठमुत्पद्यकठोरवैरि कंठास्त्रिनिर्दशनर्दतुरखड्ग[धारः १*] — ७ — ७ ७
७ — ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ —
[॥७॥*] — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७

6

मये संचापनावै मुह-

श्चंडोद्दामररावदवकुम्भं द्राक्ताडिते दुंदुभौ । चेतुः पोलुष्टातारंगम-

¹ From an impression.

* Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as *addition*.—Ed.]

- समूहं वदपीकटाः सामन्ताः कटकाय — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ —
 — ७ — [॥८॥*] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ —
 — ७ नैवेद्यं तालैः स्नातुकामैः
 7 रत्नविधिगततलास्तस्य सुखस्वनीषु ।
 दोहं डोचं डचं ड्राचतकरटिचटाघोरकंकालकूलाः मद्यः कीलालनद्यः स्फुटित-
 नरगिरःपद्म — ७ — — [॥९॥*] — — — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७
 ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — [वद्य] द्विदंठपीठस्फुटिगलदस्यसि-
 8 त्तसंयामरंगः ।
 राला श्रीमंजदेवः समलानि कृतिनां वां(वां)धवो यस्य कीर्तिः
 कुंजं कुंजं गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरोभिः [॥१०॥*]
 — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — —
 — ७ [स]कातरेण मनसा वां(चं)धवणामंडलः ।
 9 क्षेमि(ऽ)नंतरमेव सौख्यमतुलं तुच्छामप्यन्यत्रो
 त्वंगतु(त्तं)गतु(तु)रंगनिदुरस्वरचोदोदत्तैः पांसुभिः [॥११॥*] मुंडा(मुण्डा)रा
 डाकिनीनां [॥॥] ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — ७ — — ७ — — —
 — — ७ — — [श]तकरटिचटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण । श्रेया(ना)-
 10 दीयता मूर्द्धि स्फुरदसिम्बलिनं पातयित्वा रिभ्यो
 गृह(घ)षीणां ररंघ(धुः) श्रुतवदलपसासीधवो योव(डु)कंठाः [॥१२॥*]
 रेभावा(वा)[॥॥] ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — —
 — ७ ७ — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिंधुराजो नृपः । भोजे यस्य
 11 विमर्षिकुंजरचटसंघट्टहेलानम-
 दासीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्रमं(शं) भुजगेश्वरः [॥१३॥*] कः स्थातुं क्षमते
 पराक्रम. — — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ —
 ७ ७ [ति]प्रोहामगर्वं वचः ते दृष्यंतु क[चंघ]नामरिप-
 12 वः सौ(शौ)र्यप्रतिष्ठाया
 दध्रे यैर्भूष एव यस्य यम(श)सा विवासितः कालिमा [॥१४॥*]
 आता वागसमंजसा मयव[वा]दुम् ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ —
 ७ — ७ ७ ७ — [य*]दा गृहे यादृमं(शं) । सु(श्रु)त्वा यद्वज-
 दंडपोडितधनुः
 13 हंकारमाराडनं
 नाढापाचिदपान्नः परमभूदे(दे)कैव विदेयिणां [॥१५॥*] तस्मादजायत

सरोरुषपक्षनेषो विद्यानि[विः*] — — — — — [१*]
 — — — — — चंद्रकपाणदंडकापारजौस(श)कविदम्भुजो नर-

14

दः ११५[१*]

मर्षान्युहामदप्योक्तकरटिप्रटामेदुरे यच्च सैन्धे मेदिन्यामसमायामसहम-
 रधुरा धर्तुमुधर्तुकामः । — — — — —
 — — — — — कयो मनीष्यवामिः समञ्जनि निभयः(त)
 पाणरीपत्तु

15

[शे]षः ११७

[१*] यच्चिदुर्वी विज्ञेत् प्रवृत्तिं च(व)लपत्तुगमातंगसैन्धोमलीण-
 प्रवाहाः पमयितनक्तिनीर्मंडपोद्गोनहंसाः [१] — — — — —
 — — — — — वैरिसोवा(वा)प्यपूरैर्यरुपु
 समभव(व)क्षेपि कृपाः

16

[प्र]लिङ्गाः ११८[१*]

दर्शयवाकनो रूपं विद्यास्य(सु)रितविभ्रमैः । यत्प्रतापाव(वु)दो
 भुक्ता का(दा)नवर्यो प्रजासभूत् ११८[१*] भुक्ता मि(शि)रमि यच्चूणा
 खण्ड — — — — — [१*] — — — — —
 — — — — — रियं १ २०[१*] तमत्तु विततभूभृशकचुडाचिंता-
 डिः प्रतप-

17

ति जय[मि]शः पार्थिवो माव(ल)वानां ।

चटुस्तुरगसेनापांशुभिर्यः प्रयाति जलपयति चतुर्णामर्णवानां पयांसि
 १२१[१*] यडा(डा)डुः सौ(शौ)र्यवेमो — — — — —
 — — — — — [अ०]मरधुवतिभिः कोर्यते
 पुष्पवल्गा । इलाकटासिदंडाहतसु-

18

भट्टकटाकंधकंडा'मिखंड-

प्रचोतद्रक्तवाराहतसमरधरापट्टवृत्त्यक्व(व)धः १२२[१*] ताः कंडल-
 कपोलकेलिकवणपुष्पकटोर[दुमा*] — — — — —
 — — — — — [१*] होईण्डविलासकंड(व)ररणबंधासिधारावले
 दाम्म(च)कंति वि-

19

पञ्चवारणघटाः कंसामसोमास्यशः १२३

[१*] यस्याजो यमत्रिहामं खड्गमालोक्त विडियः । चमतेप्यायुषः
 का..... १२४[१*] — — — — —

... .. [१*] [२*] च पृथ्वीसुतविषं सुष्टिमध्ये
निवेसि(मि)ताः ॥२५॥

- 20 अवागो(सो)त्परमारवं[प्र]विततो लब्धा(व्या)न्व[यः] पार्थिवो
मात्वा श्रीधनिको धनेश्व(श्व)र इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — —
— — — — — निम्बे स्वकीयं ययुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्य
निकटे हिमपाङ्क-

- 21 रं ।
श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युच्चैः कीर्त्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७॥ [१*] चञ्चनामामवे(व)-
त्व(त)स्माद्भावसुसुमंहावृषः । रणे
— — — — — [१२८*] — — — — —
— — — — — स्वया विख्यातः करवाञ्जघातदक्षितदिदुर्भिकुम्भस्यस्रः ।
यः श्री-

- 22 खोट्टि(हि)कदेवदत्तममरः श्रीसीयकार्ये कृतो
रेवायाः क्षत्तिव[ह]नामनि तटे मुष्वा(डा) पतस्ये दिवं ॥२८॥
... .. [१*]
... .. वासितां ॥२९॥ [१*] आतः
कीर्त्तितरंगिणोम(शु)ल(शु)कितपैलोक्यसीमांतरस्वागी

- 23 सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*]मिधिः श्रीसत्त्वराजोभवत् ।
यः श्रीभोजनरेदुदत्तविभवः साधे रणे मूर्ध्नरैः कृत्वा[सं] — — —
— — — — — [१३१*] — — — — —
— — — — — मास्यभागीरवीमैलः(स्तुः) कीर्त्तिशु चाहमान-
महतां वंशोदवा लभ्यते । रा-

- 24 जयोः नञ्जैव येन महजश्रीमन्मतिः स्वामिना
यस्याः स्वादुपमाननादिपुरुष(धा)पीत[स्व]नी देवकी ॥३२॥ [१*] तस्या —
— — — — — स्वातः श्री
निर्व(च)राजः प्रकटमुमटता(तः) सृष्टिषु य(म)ल्लकष्यः [१*] स्वस्यश्री-

- 25 भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्तद्वरिष्ठः
स्त्रि(स्त्र)मं प्राप्तश्चलित्वा क[लि]युगमधिपदेपिणो निर्दलित्वा ॥३३॥ [१*]
भोगस्यागो गृहो[त्वा] श्रीमंड-

* Correctly चत. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.

लोक इत्यस्य लघुस्वातामवे(व)वृपः ॥३४(३४)* स्(श)रस्त्वागो नमो
शोभो वि-

26

पथित्

कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तचौरः । शमंतानां मूर्ध्नि दत्ताङ्गिरको
राजलुब्धोर्मिंडले मंडलोकः ॥३४(३५)* अपि च ॥ भोज . . .
— — — — — [१*]
— — — — — [१*]
दाय रणे कनं दंष्ट्राधीसं(शं) मजाव(व)लं । अपिपितं जयमिहाय
सा[र्व]

27

गजसमन्विधं(तं) ॥३५(३६)

[१*] जयत्यसौ श्रीपरमारवंशी यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयसिंहदेवः । ज्ञातः
प्रसा(शा)खानु च यस्य तुंगसामंतपूज्य — — — — — [१३०(३८)
॥३॥ — — — — —
भक्त्याकार्यत मंदिरं अररिपोस्तत्प्रांशुलाखेटके । यस्मैत्तु(त्तं)गञ्जिरः-

28

प्रदेशनिहितैर्दोषोक्तवे दोषकै-

इत्तं कल्लसमंजयंति नयनान्यादायसिदन्धियः ॥३८(३९)* तुल-
सुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः ि. — — — — — [१*]
— — — — — भुवि सोष्यवतीर्य भवेद्वृपतिः
॥३९(४०)* शरदारुसुदालयमोशकते

29

कुर्वतेत्यप्र[नी] दिननेकमपि । दिवि ययैमञ्जसमुपास्य सि(शि)धं
पुनरव मञ्जीपनतः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)* व(वृ)हदाम — — — — —
— — — — — [१*] — — — — —
कामयतेपि मञ्जुप्रदंसुरनाथमपि कल्लयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)*

30

यदि पक्षमहेष्टकया तदभिर्ध्वरमारग(शि)लाघटितैर्घटयेत् । निखिला-
मस्ते(ये)खरघट्टनया निविसे(जे)द्वि चष्टपदांशु(डु)कचः ॥४२(४३)*
— — — — — विषाणजं ।

प्रासादमयं मानियं शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)*

31

राजा स्त्री(त्री)जयसिंहिन चक्रे देवाय भक्तिः ।

हवभं प्रति भोगार्थं मानं पिमो(शो)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५)*

पांसुलाखेटके स्थाने कच्छोक्त . . . [1*]
द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभाः स्वभक्तिना(२) ॥४५(४६) [1*] वंदनाख्ये(५) रघुदे च
भूमि(मि)-

32 मांगद्वयं तथा ।
दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वयेया(य)य(मि) महेस(य)तः ॥४६(४७) [1*]
पुष्टे नम्रतडागस्य वरुणेश्व(ख)यांस्त्वयैव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-
... ॥४७(४८) [1*] एवादितः
कृत्वा यावच्छंद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिदत्ता सकेदारा सुष्वा(बुद्धा)

33 मांसारिकं फलं ॥४८(४९) [1*]
नडापाटकयामि मूरन्या देवलपाटके । भीमपुरे च पामाद्यामपरा
मंडलद्वये ॥४९(५०) [1*] एवमेतिषु यामिषु*]
[म*] चिता । भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलीकरे ॥५०(५१) [1*]
पतञ्च पु-

34 रं खलनानुपुरभांकारमुखरिताभोगं ।
भोगनिमित्तं शंभोदत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२) [1*] पुरेन मत्तद्व्यस्य
भूरघटादिकस्य च [1*] म शः
प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३) [1*] तपस्वो(स्त्री) त्र(त्रा)द्यचारि(री) यं(यः) [श] चि-
दीता(तो) जितेन्द्र-

35 यः ।
तिनाच त(न)विः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या वारिकेः सह सर्वदा ॥५३(५४) [1*]
भरतो धुंधुमारच कालेवीर्यो शिषिपं(र्व)लिः । हरिश्चंद्र(चंद्र)स्तु
मांधाता नको वेणुर्नृपाद(यः) [५४(५५) [1*]
... जान(ताः) परपुरिताः । तं प्यायुषि परिशीले म[ता] ॥
कृता(कार्त्ता)तिकं पुरं [५५(५६) [1*]

36 मत्वे[न*] दक्षिणं सर्वं राज्यमायुषेनं नृपैः ।
न क्षीर्यं सि(गि)वसंवंधि वस्तु श्लोकं(कम)पि यद्वेत् [५७(५८) [1*] यतः
[1*] भवद्यानाज्यमज्ञा(च)नाद्यस्त्रितं करजोद[रे] [1*]
... हरिद्विपः ॥५८(५९) [1*] विसे(मि)प्रतः ।
यस्मद्वसे(मि)य — — विषये भो-

37 क्षात्र यो भवेत् ।
तस्याश्यामिः कृताश्रयां (चां) सि(गि)वदनं न चालयेत् ॥५९(६०) [1*] अस्ति
प्रत्यवनीन(य)चकसुकुटस्थष्टाष्टिपीठस्थितः । श्रीकोटकुचत[मं]-
— ॥६०(६१) [1*] [ते*] निधं स्फुटवर्णपा-
कपटिमप्रोटेः पदाङ्ग[व(व)रैः] मंडपा सुम-

38

[नः]प्रबो(बो)धजनबो संभोः वसन्तिर्मुदे ॥६०॥*

यावदाद्रो कला संभोद्योतिते कुटसंबपे । कीर्त्तिः दौमंडसीकल तावद-

स्त्वयथा भुवि ॥६०'६१[॥] संवत् विक्रम- १११६ . . .

[वा]नभकायस्त्वोपरसुतासराजिनेयमुक्तीरिता(का?) [स(स)डा] ॥

B.—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA : VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

This record was found at Arthūpā in the Bānewāra state in Rājputāna¹ and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of $1' 7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1'$. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}''$. The letter *ṣ* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The language is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of orthography it may be noted that *ṣ* is used for *h* in *vaṣṭāṣ* (l. 2), *vāṣṭha* (l. 12), etc.; *ṣ* for *ṣ* in *vaṣṭāṣ* (l. 7); *ṣ* for *ṣ* in *vāṣṭha* (l. 15), *vāṣṭha* (l. 19), etc. and *ṣ* for *ṣ* in *vāṣṭha* (l. 30). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *-putar-vaṣṭha-* (l. 2), *saṣṭar-vaṣṭha-* (l. 7), etc. *Anusvara* is used for nasals in *Mandaliṭa* (l. 2), *-chāṣṭurika* (l. 15), etc. Rules of sandhi have been frequently violated. *Jāṣṭhāṣṭha* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The subject of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛṣabhañātha at the town of Uthūpaka during the reign of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāpaḍa. After paying homage to Vitarūga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that Mandaliṭa of the Paramāra lineage killed the general Kaṇha and Sindhubarāja. It then speaks of Mandaliṭa's son Chāmundaarāja as having destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthall country. Verse 3 speaks of his son Vijayarāja, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛṣabhañātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, the residence of Ambaṭa, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgarā family. His son was Pāpaka, who knew the whole of Ayurvāda (v. 7). He had three sons, Alāka, Sāhara and Lalūka (v. 8). Alāka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhetraṅga of the Mādhura family (vv. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hālā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well versed in Sūtras and who became a recluse (vv. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshaya, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 16-19. He had two wives, Lakṣmī and Sill. By the latter he had three sons, Alāka, Sādhara and Sāntimukhya. It was Bhūshaya who established this Jaina temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lalūka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambaṭa by his wife Sūkā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛṣabhañātha was established by Bhūshaya in the town of Uthūpaka in the year 1166 of the Vikrama era, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthall and that the image was consecrated on Monday, the 3rd day of the bright

¹ F. R. A. S. W. C., 1905-06, p. 40.

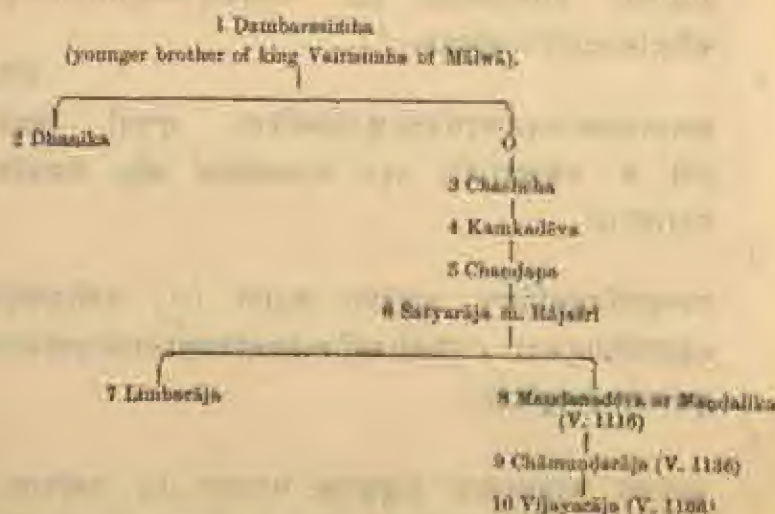
half of Vaisākha of the same year which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D. The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned Kāṭaka while the rest was the work of Bhātuka, son of the Brahman Śīvaḍa who was the son of Bhātilla of the Valla family. The *prastāva* was written by the *Sāṅdhiragrāhika* Vāmana, son of Kāyastha Rājapāla of the Vālabha family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the *vijāñāṇika* Steamāka. The *prastāva* practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *āṅga-ślokaṅga*.¹

As regards the **personages** mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about Maṇḍalika and Chāmunḍarāja from other inscriptions. The inscription A says that Maṇḍalika took general Kanha prisoner and handed him over to king Jayasimhadēva, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him. Again, in the Arthūgā inscription of V. 1136,² Chāmunḍarāja, son of Maṇḍanadēva, is said to have overcome Sindharāja, whereas in the present record Maṇḍalika is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two Sindharājas were different persons, or the word 'Sindharāja' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of Sindhu'. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the Arthūgā inscription of V. 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record.³ The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record.

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the Vāgaḍa branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that Vāgaḍa, after a few decades, went under the control of the Gahla king Sāmantasinha of Mewār, who established a kingdom there in about V. 1236 (A.D. 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of Dungarpur in Rājputāna.⁴

As to the **places** mentioned in the inscription, **Uthūṅaka** is the modern Arthūgā which is about 28 miles south-west of Bānswāra. **Talapāṭaka** is now a village called Talavāḍā lying about 12 miles to the south of Bānswāra.

The genealogy of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus :—



¹ [This, I understand from Muni Puṅgyavijaya of Pāṇi, is some small *ṛgveda*-work—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

³ See Dr. Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 296 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV—Ed.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 161 f.

TEXT.¹

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 13 and 14, *Mālinī*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 22 and 30, *Sārdūlavīṛiṭā*; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā*; vv. 4, 11 and 17, *Fasantatilakā*; v. 7, *Śṛaṅgharā*; vv. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Janakabhā*; vv. 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 12 and 21, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 15, 16 and 29, *Śākhariṇī*; v. 18, *Prithvī*; v. 19, *Harinī*.]

1 श्रीं ॥ श्रीं नमो धोतरागाय ॥

स जयतु जिनभातुर्भव्यराजोवराजो जनितवरविकाशो दत्तलोकप्रकाशः ।

परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्परस्तात्क्षणमपि चपलाभहादिखद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥

2 श्रीमोक्षीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलौकाभिधः कन्दस्य ध्वजिनौपतेर्बिधनकञ्चौ-
सिंधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कौर्त्तिलतालवालक इतयामुंडराजो हृषो दीर्घति-
प्रभुसाधनानि य(व)द्भ्यो हंति स्म

3 देशे स्वलौ(क्याम्) ॥२॥

श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुती जयति जयति विततयथाः । सुभगो
जितारवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्तनवरं तत्तपाटकाकां
पश्चात्कृत्वा जयति-

4 मरसुंदरोकम् ।

अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमंदिरवैजयन्तीविस्तारवत्तदिननायकरप्र[वा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-
रवंशशेखरमणिनिर्गेषशस्त्राभ्यु(स्त्र)धिर्जनेद्रागमवासनारसमुधावितास्त्रिम[ज्जो]भवत् ।

5 श्रीमानव(व)टसंज्ञकः कलिव(व)हिर्भूतो भिषपा(ग्वा)मणौर्गाहस्येपि निक्षेपिताच-
प(प्र)सरो देशप्रतालंजितः ॥५॥ यस्यावश्यककर्मनिहितमने[नि]ष्टा वनातिभव-
चंतिवासिनदाजिताजलिपटा-²

6 श्रीराः कृतोपासनाः ।

यस्यागन्धसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[व]मत्कारिता शश्रूपा विदधे सुतेषु सततं
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(री) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य स्रुतः समजनि जनितानेकमव्य-
प्रपो(मो)दः

7 प्रादुर्भू-

तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृष्ट्वा श्रुतानां [1³] सर्वास्तुर्वेदेदी विहितसकल-
रक्षांतलोकातुर्कपो ।⁴ निर्वो(र्णो)ताशियदोषप्रकृतिरपगदस्तपतोकारमारः ॥७॥ तस्य
पुत्राभ्योभूयन्भूरिगा-

8 सविशारदाः ।

शालाकः साक्षसाख्यश्च लङ्काख्यः परीतुजः ॥८॥ यस्तवायः सहजविशदप्रज्ञया
भासमानः श्रुतादर्शस्फुरितसकलैतिहृतत्वार्यसारः । संवेगादिस्तुटतरगुणव्य-

¹ From the original inscription.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The strokes are redundant.

⁴ Danda unnecessary.

BOHRA OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 18 इमंभावप[चा]दुदतारि च
स्त्रिभुतिमहास्त्राया नीती विभूतिगिरि गिरि ॥१८॥ हे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः
लक्ष्मीशीलीतिविद्युते । पतिव्रतत्वसंयुक्ते चारित्र्यगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥[*] स [शी]-
- 19 लिङ्गायामुदपादि पुष्पाभ्यामयोभ्याम्युदवभक्तः ।
चलोक्तसाधारणशान्तिमु[स्या]म्भवंधु(वन्धु)चित्ताज(ज)विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ चासुस्त-
ममशोधभारनिहितस्तोकाभ्यु(भ्यु)वयस्य(श)रं
- 20 संचित्त द्विपक्षगणचंचलतरां लक्ष्म्याच दृष्टा स्थिति । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रसुनिष्ठाया-
त्स्त्रिरतरे मूलं ॐ — — ॐ सी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनदृष्टं भूमेरिदं
भूषणं(लम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य ज-
- 21 निष्ठो(ष्ठः) शीलज्ञाक इति विद्युतः ।
देवपूजापरी निष्ठं भ्रातुरादेशकस्तदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठः) पादुजनामा यः सोड-
कायामजोजनत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमन्त्र(म्भ)टसंज्ञकं(जम्) २४॥[*]
- 22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्छात्तरशतेन संयुक्ते ।
पिक्कमभानोः काले स्वस्ति(लो)विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ पिक्कम-
संवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि ३ मासे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥
- 23 शीवप्रभनाथनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विव(विम्ब)मिदं ।
उत्कृष्टजनगरेस्त्रिभिश्च जगतो(त्यां) वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥ युगलं ॥०॥ तुर्यवृत्ता
लभारम्भ वृत्तात्वे(न्वे)तानि बोद्धव्यं । चाप्यवृत्ते-
- 24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको तु(वु)धः ॥२७॥
भाइको वल्लवंसे(शे)भूतजः शोसावडो द्विजः । तत्कृतोर्भाटुकस्थेयं निःशेषाया-
परा कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालभ्यान्वयकायस्वरारजपालस्य
- 25 कृतुना ।
संधिविषयसंस्थेन लिखिता वास[ने]न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्वावचरामयोः सुचरितं
भूमौ जनैर्गीयते ।¹ यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति श्योम्न्यस्ति यावच्छरी । चण्ड-
- 26 इक्ष्वाकिनिर्मितं यमपक्षैः यावत्पु(च्छ)तं पठ्यते तावत्कीर्त्ति-
रियं चिराय जयतामस्तुयमाना(ना) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कोष्ठां विज्ञानिकसुमा-
किन ॥ मंगलं भवत्योः ॥
- 27 श्री ॥ लक्ष्मीनिवासनिलयं विन्नोनकिल(कलु)पं निधाय इति वीर ।
शालानुशास(स)नमहं व[च्छे] जायकध्याना²(?)॥३१॥(३१) दुःखादि(दि)भेषि नितराम-
भिवांच्छसि सुखमतोऽहमध्यामन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

¹ *Isaia's prophecy.*² Perhaps we have to read श्रीचाण्डिका—*Shri.*

28

-कारमनुमा(शा)स्मि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(२२)॥

यद्यपि कदाचिदास्मिन्विपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किञ्चित् । त्वं तस्मात्मा भयो-
र्यथातुरो भेषादुद्यात् ॥२(२३)॥ वना वनाश्च वाचानाः सुलभाः सुर्वयो-
लिताः । दुर्ल-

29

भा ह्यंतरादास्ते जगदम(स)जिहोषेवः ॥४(२४)॥

परायत्तामुखातुःखं स्वाद्यतं केवलं वरं । अम्यथा सुखिनामानङ्गवमा[र्त्ता]
स्तपस्विनः ॥५(२५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरचे स्तस्तुत इतोन्वतः । सर्वतः
पतनप्राये

30

काये लोयं तवाय नः ॥६(२६)॥

अवस्थं(श्च) नस्त्र(श्च)रैरभिरायुःकायादिभिर्वेदि । सास्त्र(शास्त्र)तं पदमायाति
मुधायातमवेदि ते ॥७(२७)॥ गंतुमुच्छासनिःस्वामैरभ्यस्यत्येष संततं । लोकः
प्रथमितो^१ वाङ्म्वारमा-

31

[नमज^२]रामरं ॥८(२८)॥

गलत्वायुः प्रायः प्रकटितचटोयंचय(स)लिलं खलुः(क्तः) कायोप्यायुः मतिमभिपतत्येष
सततं । किमस्य(य)न्यैरन्येइयमयमिदं ज्योषितमिह स्थितौ भांत्वानाविष्ट(?)
मिव मनुजे स्वास्तु मरणं(णम्)^३ [१^४] ८(२८) [१^५]

No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By STEEN KONOW.

In a field opposite the Chaurāl Jains temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a wall called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No. 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 5' 7" high and 11·3" broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2' 7" it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14" high and 11" broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1". The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.*

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kuṣāṇa type. In l. 1, after the word *śiddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Bühler[†] explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

^१ Read प्रथमितो.

^२ मरज is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *lāla-pada* before it.

^३ After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.N.S.*, XVIII, pp. 4 ff., and noticed by Mr. Hari Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

[†] *Indian Palaeography*, I 36, C. 5.

the first edicts in the Kāśī version of Aśoka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 100.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual *akṣaras* is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved: cf. *anādhānām*, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *śā*, ll. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *cā*, l. 6, at the bottom. The *u-mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *u* (l. 4), *p* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9-13), *m* (l. 6) and *k* (l. 10); an upward slope after *r* (ll. 3, 4) and *ś* (l. 4); a downward slope after *k* (l. 7) and *r* (l. 2), and a forward stroke after *t* (l. 11). *R* is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ya* in *dhāriya*, l. 6, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *ye*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anuvāsa* is frequently omitted: cf. *viddha*, l. 1, if we should not read *viddhāsa*; *puṇya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowels are written for a long one in *śivī*, l. 3; *śivī*, l. 11; *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9; *putra* side by side with *patinā*, l. 3; *pibāśāśura*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *taḥ* for *taś*, l. 3; *bhāṣakāśāśura* for *bhāṣakāśāśura* *pīpāśāśura*, l. 9; *anādhānām* for *anādhānām*, l. 8; *anādhā* for *anādhā*, l. 11; *viśarjya* before *t*, l. 10, etc.

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The language is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ri*-vowel occurs in *viddhāś*, l. 3; *krīṭāś*, l. 8. The form *laripa* for *lāriya*, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Āśvādhyaṇa-Smṛtiśāstra* and the *Chāṇakya-Upaniṣad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ri* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s*-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *śakā*, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R*-compounds such as *pr*, *br* and *tr* are preserved throughout, and the *ts* in *samvatsarē*, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmaṇa*, l. 3, *yachatra*, i.e., *yachchātra*, l. 9, *prīya*, *yachā*, *tāhām*, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous **Prakritisms**. Compare *prāśā*, l. 7; *śāpātra*, l. 10; *śāhāś*, l. 6; *śāśāya*, l. 10; *śāśāś*, l. 6; *prathivya*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as *yaś* for *yaś*, l. 1; *taś* for *taś*, l. 9; *taś* for *taś*, l. 8; *dinaś* for *danā*, ll. 3, 11; *dhāriya*, l. 6; *chāśāś* for *chāśāś*, l. 4, etc.

The record is dated on the first day of *Gurpīya* in the year 28, and we learn from ll. 9f. that the Dēvaputra Śāhi Ruvishka was then on the throne.

Gurpīya is the Macedonian month *Gorpiatos*, corresponding to the Indian *Pṛatibhāṣa*, and this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a **Brahmi inscription**. We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is *a priori* likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, i.e., that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, viz., on the 10th *Apellaios* 28. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.¹

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumption that the founder of the era was a Śaka, and that this Śaka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāṇa rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.² It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol. II, Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathāsaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Śaka ruler who repeated an older Śaka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Śaka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era: *āgam pūrnāgigam samakṣhāgam Sākāśāpāpāgathuṁ*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Śaka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Śaka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.³ And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-chen, i.e., Wima Kadphises, again extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen Kao-chen's predecessor, K'in-tsin-k'io, i.e., Kuṣūla Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Śaka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, i.e., in the fifth century A.D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A.D.). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A.D., and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāryakathāsaka*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Śaka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

¹ Cf. especially Professor Rapson, *J. E. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

² *J. E. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 387 ff.

³ In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasad Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, e.g., by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of those reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Saka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi¹ about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shūhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yüeh-shi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Saka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Sertthian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Saka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.²

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hēmanṭa, i.e., of Pausa, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was in the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Śākhi*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāna was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāna power in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The purport of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *puṇyasthā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akshaya-dān*, i.e., a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *śrēṣṭh* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 350 *parāṇas* each. The name of the first *śrēṣṭh* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two *akṣaras śaka*. The second was the *śamīdabara-śrēṣṭh*, i.e., probably the makers of *śamīdā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmanas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions as the due for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing *śāḍṇa* to be synonymous with *śaḍgah*), viz., 3 *śāḥaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* *śaka*, 3 *ghaṭaka* and five *śallaka* *harṣa-kāḍṇaka*. The reading *śakṛāḥ*, i.e., *śallakāḥ*, is uncertain, the *śakṛāḥ* here being apparently identical with *śrī* in *śrīṣṭa*, l. 8. The meaning of the word *śaka* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Harṣa-kāḍṇaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *śāḥaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghaṭaka*, jar, and *śallaka*, bowl.

The *puṇyasthā* is characterised as *prāchīnā*, i.e., evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *śatadā*, i.e., *śatardā*, opening towards the four quarters.

¹ J. A. IX, II, 1897, p. 26, *Jal. Ind.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

² Cf. the Kanakā Tā inscription of the year 290, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānaputro Kharśāśāṣṭipati Vakanopati*.

The first term may be compared with *Kushāpa[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māt near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.¹ Mr. Jayaswal has explained this word as 'son of Kushāpa', taking Kushāpa to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaja Gushapa* of the Panjtar and the *Mahatoja Rajatimja Khushapa* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' i.e., 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaomana shwa Kanesāśi Kushana*,² where *Kushana* is explained as *Kaushāpa* meaning 'descendant of Kushāpa.' I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māt inscription is *Mahāsājā Rājātirājā dēvaputrō Kushāpa[m]putra śāhi Vanata* *śāhūmāya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, i.e., a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources.* Here *Kushāpa[m]putra* follows after *dēvaputra*, i.e., 'a god's son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāpa[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushāpas' son,' 'a Kushāpa scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāpa*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang,' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai.' The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Ta-hsi that there were five principalities: Hin-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-tu, each under one *hi-hou*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yü-chi divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-tu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'iu-tai-k'io, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Kushana* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kaushāpa*. The legends are written in Saka,³ and in Saka *kushana*, i.e., *kushāna*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kiu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāmapitrikā*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the *Kiu-sha*.⁴ We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāpa[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushāna putra*, a son, i.e., scion, of the *Kusha*, as proposed by Baron A. von Siall-Holstein⁵ who reads *Kushāna putra*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāpa* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāpa* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balgāna*, lordly, from *balga*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushapa*, *kushapa* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

¹ A. S. J. 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

² J. H. O. R. S. VI, pp. 12 ff.

³ In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

⁴ We do not know this name from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, A. S. I. A. E. 1912-13, p. 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is anant is not convincing.

⁵ Z. D. M. G., 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

⁶ Atraghena, *Śāśāṣṭhīra*, traduit par Édouard Huber, Paris 1909, p. 168. The Sanskrit original has *(ka)ṣa*, but the name of the family is not found in the fragments, s. Lübars, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmapitrikā des R. mārullita*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

⁷ S. P. A. W., 1914, pp. 645 ff.

I therefore think that *Kushāyaśūputra* in the Mā inscription must mean 'Kushāya's son.' And similarly I would translate *Kusasarukamānāputra* in our record as 'the Khasarukamāna's son,' or, 'the son of the Khasarukamāna', though it is possible that *Kusasarukamāna* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchinikana Sarukamāna putra*, by the son of the eastern Sarukamāna, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prā-chi-ikana* in that case standing for *prāchisakānāna*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kusasarukamāna*, *Khasarukama*, for *saraka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Sarmatae*, mentioned by Ptolemy,* for which other sources have *Sakarauloi*, *Sakaurakoi*, and *Sarastanacae*.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāśāśrūpati* and *Vakunāpati*, i.e., the ruler of *Kharāśāśra* and *Vakana*, are likewise unexplained. *Vakunāpati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakunāpati* in the Mā inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of Vamataleshvara is described as *Bakunāpatinā Huna*†. It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known *Wakhān* which occurs as *Fakāna* in other sources, such as the *Durgāvadāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hun* following after *Bakunāpatinā* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of *Wakhān* represented by Chinese *Hun-wei*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Hu-wei*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,‡ *Balabakān* remained the stronghold of the Yü-chi down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.

- L. 1 Siddham¹ Santivatare 20 8 Gurppiya divase 1 ayam purya-
 L. 2 kila prachini Khasarukamāna - putreṣa Kharāśāśrū-
 L. 3 rapatinā² Vakunāpatinā akshaya-nivā dino[ā] Taita[ā] vṛddh[ā]-
 L. 4 tē nūa-junāśāśra śuddhāyā chaturthi purya-4[ā]
 L. 5 yath brāhmanā-śāśra parivrajitavyam divase diva[ā]
 L. 6 cha purya-kālyāṇe dvāva-nu[ā] dhārjya sūryaśe sūryaśe
 L. 7 dhakā 3 lavitya-prasthā 1 sakn-prasthā 1 hanta-kālyāṇa-
 L. 8 ghatak[ā] 3 mālak[ā] 5 sam anāth[ā] kṛtāṇa dātā[ā]
 L. 9 bahukashikāna pūṣṭānām³ Yach[ā]tra purya[ā] tam dēvapūjāna⁴

[Prof. 41, 42.] Deinde quo regnante Scythici gentes Saraceni et Avari Bactra occupaverunt et fugerunt. Reges Thionorum Avari interitumque Saraceni.

¹ To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I accept except Mr. Jayaward's explanation of these terms.

² *Toung Pao* II, vii, p. 187.

³ For the last syllable see plate facing page 6, *J. A. S. O. B. N.*, Vol. XVII (1932).—Ed.

⁴ Perhaps *śūdrā*. ⁵ Read *sūryaśe*. ⁶ Read *sūryaśe*. ⁷ Read *bahukashikāna puryaśe*.

- L. 10. *Shāhīya Huvishkāya¹ yāshā[di*] cha dēvaputro priyah tēshāmi -api puṣya[di*]*
- L. 11. *bhavatu sārva² cha prithivīyē puṣya[di*] bhavatu akshaya-nivī³ dīna[ā]*
- L. 12. [r]āka-śrēṇ[ī]⁴ purāṇa-śata 500 50 śamitakara-śrēṇī-
- L. 13. [rē cha*] purāṇa-śata 500 50

TRANSLATION.

Success. In the year 28, on the first day of Gorpiatosa, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharasālēra, the lord of Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmanas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *āhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* *saka*, three *ghataka* and five *māllaka* of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what more is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka**, and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the *-rāka*-guild, 500 *parāṇa*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 500 *parāṇa*.

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

By PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgarjunikonda** edited by me in this journal,* Mr. Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Ayaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the **Nāgarjunikonda** Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetiya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a stūpa (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *mandapa*. The site of the stūpa was marked by a large mound of brick debris overgrown with jungle and locally known as *likurāḥabāḥu*. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen *Bhāṭī*(*bhlevā*), who calls herself the daughter-in-law of *Vāseṭhiput(t)a* *Sirī-Chātāmula*, the consort of *Māḥuriput(t)a* *Sirī-Virapurīkardat(t)a* and the mother of *Sirī-Ekuvuḍa-Chātāmula*, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *vihāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the *Bahman(t)ṭiya* sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the stūpa No. 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

* Looks almost like *Parasakara*.

¹ Read *avāḥyā*.

² Read *-ant*.

⁴ Vol. XX, pp. 1-37.

tion G. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call G2 and G3, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription G2 is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta*, *samkappasa*, *Parisoduttasa*, *bhuyyāsa*, *Bhattidevāsa*) and even in *pati* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Virīpakka*, *patitthapito*, *Ikkhākuma*, *paikkha*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *apithama*, *savathasa*, *sarivachharam*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

The final *m* in *siddham* (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G2.

Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhassa Mahārājassa (l. 2) Virīpakkaṇṇapatti-Mahāsena-
parigahitassa agihot-[*]līthoma-vājape- (l. 3) 5-[*]āsamedha-yājīsa auka-kuraṇṇa-koti-go-sata-
sahasa-hala-sataha- (l. 4) [sa-padāyīsa savathasa apatitha-sadikappasa Vāsīthiputtasa
Ikkhākuma] (l. 5) Sri-Chātāmūlassa saṅghāya mahārājassa Mājjhariputtassa Sri-Virapuri-
(l. 6) sadattassa bhayyāya mahādeviye [Bhattidevāya] deyadhamma imam savajjānīyato
(l. 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahumutiyāna[m] patitthapito Rāṇo Vāsīthiputtassa Ikkhākuma
(l. 8) Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūlassa sarivachharam hitiya gūḥa-pakkha chhatham 6 divasam
dassamam 10.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahumutiyā sect by Mahādevī [Bhattidevā], (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsīthiputta Sri-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed) by Mahāsena, the lord of Virīpakka, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnidhōma, Vājapēya, and Aśramedha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (of land) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (his) aims, (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Mājjhariputta Sri-Virapurisadatta. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Vāsīthiputta Sri-Ehuvula-Chātāmūla of (the house of) the Ikkhākus, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

Ayaka-pillar Inscription G3.

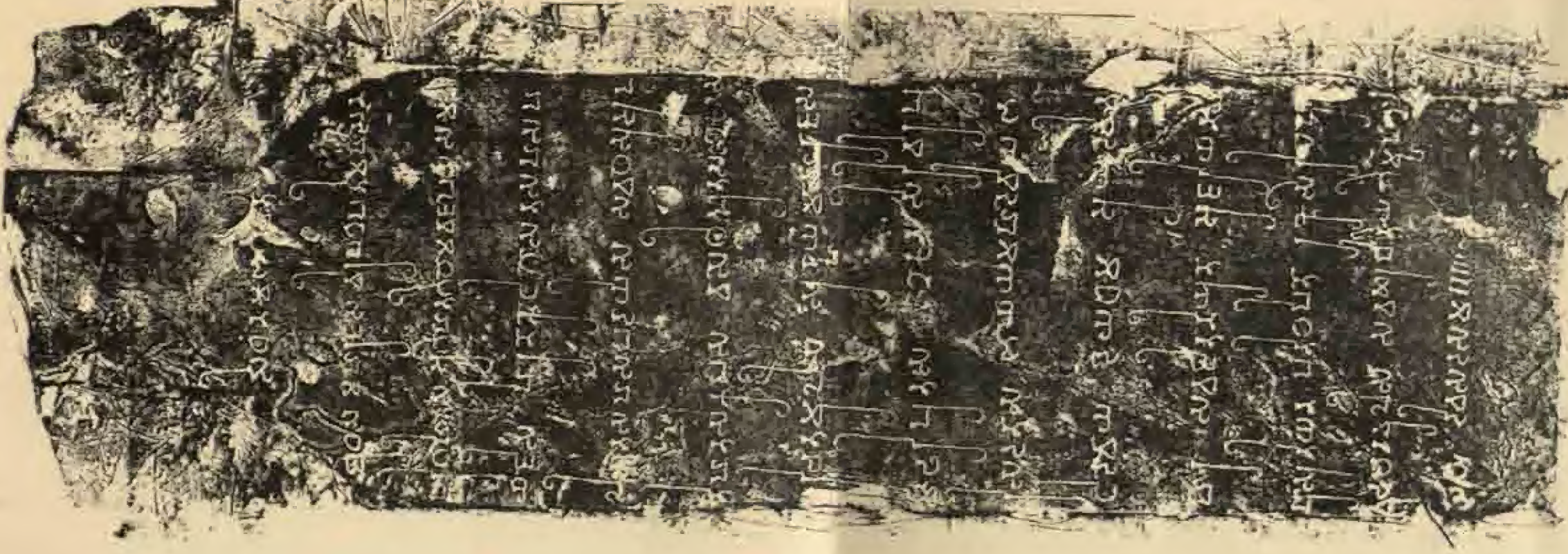
Transcript.

(l. 1) Siddham namo bhāgavato (l. 2) Buddhassa Mahārājassa Virīpakkaṇṇapatti-Mahāsena-
(l. 3) [parigahitassa agihot-[*]līthoma-vājape-[*]āsamedha- (l. 4) yājīsa kuraṇṇa-koti-go-sata-
sahasa-ha- (l. 5) [sa-patasahasa-padāyīsa savathasa apa- (l. 6) thata-sadikappasa Vāsīthiputtam
Ikkhākuma] (l. 7) Sri-Chātāmūlassa saṅghāya mahārājassa (l. 8) Mājjhariputtassa Ikkhākuma
Sri-Virapu- (l. 9) sadattassa bhayāya mahādeviye Bha- (l. 10) tadevāya deyadhamma ayam
Devī-vi- (l. 11) hāṇṇo savajjānīyuto achariyānam [Ra-] (l. 12) hantiy[*]āna[m] patitthapito
Rāṇo Sri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chātāmūlassa sarivachharam hitiya gūḥa-pakha (l. 14) [chhatham]
divasam dassamam.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bha-

G-3.



G-2.



PILLAR WITH INSCRIPTION L.



From a photograph.

L.

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13

1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
 5. ...
 6. ...
 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...
 12. ...
 13. ...

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

sutika set by Mahādevī Bhāṭidevā (who is) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla, of (the house of) the [k]khākus, etc., (see above, sub-G 2), (and who is) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍhariput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a of (the house of) the [k]khākus. In the second year of (the reign of) Rāja Siri-Ehruva-Chāntamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *jātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāvara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,¹ attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.² Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call L, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāseṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chāntamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāntamūla's son, King Māḍhariput(t)a Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāntamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāntamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sūlanti Mahārājasa samantha-vājasa anka-hiraga-kot-palā)isa (l. 2) Siri-Chāntamūlāsa putāsa raño Māḍhariputāsa [Ikhākunath] Siri-Virapurisadatāsa (l. 3)

¹ See my remarks in *J. S. R.*, 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda.—Ed.

² Possibly ingots of gift-money.—Ed.

vaṣṣamaya sathyaachhara vimsaya[m] rāṣa-pakhaṁ prathama[m] divasa[m] bhūya[m]
 aṅga-gataṁ (l. 4) raṭṭe aghor-[*ā]ḍḍhoma-vāpura-[*ā]samedha-yāṇa hrupa-koti-go-antasaṁasa-
 (l. 5) hata-sataśchasa-pādāyāṇa svvithesu apatihata-samkapasa Vāṇaḍḍhiputasa (l. 6) [Kha]ḍḍha
 [Sāmi]-[Siri-Chantamūla]śahodar[ā]ḥi m[ā]pahr māḥi [S]deviṇi Sūmthāsiya (l. 7) Khasḍaśi[ya]
 Vijaḥḥavasi[ya] M[ā]sa[si]ya Sammasi[ya] [Nā]ga[va]masi[ya] (l. 8) [Nā]gasasi[ya] Khasḍaśi-
 śi[ya] Mahasasi[ya] Ratumasi[ya] Mūlasasi[ya] (l. 9) Ayakoṇasi[ya] Maduvasi[ya]
 [Nā]gasasi[ya] [Rā]masasi[ya] Golmasi[ya] (l. 10) Vellasi[ya] [K]ḍḍasi[ya] Khaḍḍasi[ya] Satilasi[ya]
 Parajathasi[ya] (l. 11) Puhḍḍasi[ya] Sivanāgasasi[ya] Samulasasi[ya] Bapsasi[ya] Nadasi[ya]
 (l. 12) Ayasi[ya] Ratumasi[ya] Sivanāga[si]ya subhatarikāḥi cha (l. 13) Sarasikāya Kuṁma-
 latāya [Dya[m] *tha[m]bhā.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Māḍhariput[ā]a Siri-Virapurisadatt[ā]a of (the house of) the [K]ḍḍha, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chantamūla, the offerer of an Aśvamedha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (has been erected) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late Rājan Yāsi-ḍḍiput[ā]a Svāmin Siri-Chantamūla, etc., (see above, sub-*l* 2), (to wit), by Sūmthi, Khasḍasi, Vijaḥḥavasi, M[ā]sasi, Sammasi, [Nā]ga[va]masi, [Nā]gasasi, Khasḍaśasi, Mahasasi, Ratumasi, Mūlasasi, Ayakoṇasi, Maduvasi, [Nā]gasasi, Rāmasasi, Golmasi, Vellasi, Ḍḍasi, Khaḍḍasi, Satilasi, Parajathasi, Puhḍḍasi, Sivanāgasi, Samulasasi, Bapsasi, Nadasi, Ayasi, Ratumasi, Sivanāga[si] and by the subhatarikās Sarasikā and Kuṁmalatā.

Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (maṇḍapa) of Chāṇḍasi.

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement,¹ was founded by Chāṇḍasi, the maternal aunt of King Siri-Virapurisadatta in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-jared hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortise to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (M 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (M 4 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (M 18, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.² From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (M 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (M 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few *akṣaras* preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages.

¹ There is inscribed above this letter and the character is more like π. The reading might be Kaṇḍasi.—Ed.

² Pra-krit *anagaganā*, Skt. *anagaganā*, lit. 'gone to heaven'.

³ It seems to read *via āḍḍa*.—Ed.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III.

⁵ In the same way the pillar on which the inscription G is found bears the figures of two animals (ll. 18-19) running to the left. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *Śyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apaidal Temple inscription E. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* by the same lady Chāṇḍisiri (or Chāṇḍisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apaidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Aparamahāvinseliya.¹ The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (M 4); it is the 15th year of the reign of Siri-Vīrapurisadatta, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (M 11), however, retains the *akṣaras* -*ṭa* and -*va* which can easily be restored into *maṇḍapa*. It should be remembered that the first Apaidal Temple inscription E refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*śaṇṇiputa(ṇ) chātumūla-parigahitaṇ śala-maṇḍapa(ṇ)*). There can be little doubt that this stone *maṇḍapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chātumūla* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgarjunikonda enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

Reign of King Mātharīputta Siri-Vīrapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāṇḍisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Aparamahāvinseliya sect.

14th year.—Second apaidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri.

15th year.—Pillared *maṇḍapa* founded by Chāṇḍisiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.—First apaidal temple founded by Chāṇḍisiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Chāṇḍamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[20th year.—Five *Śyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggaṣṭapaṭa) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chāṇḍamūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhag(ṭ)adevā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Bahus(s)uttiya² sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodahalasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahāsāsaka³ sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M1-19.

*Transcripts.*⁴

Pillar-inscription M 1.

- (l. 1) Mahārājasa ānandha-rājasa (l. 2) aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-paḍāyisa Siri-Chāṇḍamūlasa
(l. 3) subodharā bhogini mahāśaṇḍapatisa (l. 4) mahāśaṇḍapata-Vasēṭhiputasa Pūkiyānath
(l. 5) Kaṇḍasirisa bhag(ṭ)adevā mahāśaṇḍapata Chāṇḍisiri (l. 6) [aṭṭapaṭa] jāmānāsasa ratthasa

¹ Sanskrit *Aparahitika* (?).

² Sanskrit *Bahuvastika*, Pali *Bahuvastika*.

³ Sanskrit *Mahāsāsaka*, Pali *Mahāsāsaka*.

⁴ Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving translations.

Māharipu[*ta]sa Ikhāku[nam] (l. 7) [Siri-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike ve[st]y[ā]ke] (l. 8) [*apano] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha[ni] [*vāpathanāya]....

Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l. 1) [Apati[hata-sath]kupasa [Vā]s[ā]thiputasa] Pākiyānam (l. 2) [Kandasi[ri]sa bhariyā Khadasi[ri]garahaka-mātā (l. 3) [Siri-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike cha (l. 4) atiohhitam-anāgata-vaṭamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l. 5) [mahāchetiya-pā]damūle Aparamah[ā]vinase[ti]vānan pari-gahe] (l. 6)[bhikho]saṅghasa patiphatam ti.

Pillar-inscription M 3.

(l. 1) atiohhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānake] (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāpathanāya (l. 3) mahāvihāro mahāchetiya-pādamūle parajitānath (l. 4) (nūnā)de[sa]-seman-āgatānath mahābhikho-saṅghasa pa[ri]gahe] (l. 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasa vasa[n]āya sarhva 10 [*+] 5 vā (l. 6) [Aparamahā]vinase[ti]vānan parigaho sa-chaṭṭa[ti]vā (l. 7) [pa]tiphatam[ti].

Pillar-inscription M 4.

(l. 1) [nī]yutam chātusāla-parigahita
(l. 2) [Siri-Virapurisadatasa sarhva 10 [*+] 5 vā pa/ 8 [diva]

Pillar-inscription M 5.

(l. 1) [Kandasi[ri]sa]
(l. 2) [-m]ātā Chātutisiri spa[po] jānātukasa]
(l. 3) ... [sam]ho Māharipu[ta]sa Ikhākunam
(l. 4) ... [āyu]-vadhanike vijaya-vijayike
(l. 5) ... [hita-sa]kha-nivāpathanāya bhagavato
(l. 6) mahāchetiya-pādamūle

Pillar-inscription M 6.

(l. 1) savathesu apat[i]hata-sathkapasa ...]
(l. 2) Ikhākusa Siri-Chantamūlāsa sa[hodarā] ...]
(l. 3) ... [ma]hātalavarasa Vāsihiputasa
(l. 4) ... [mahā]talavar]
(l. 5) Mātha[ri]putasa]

Pillar-inscription M 7.

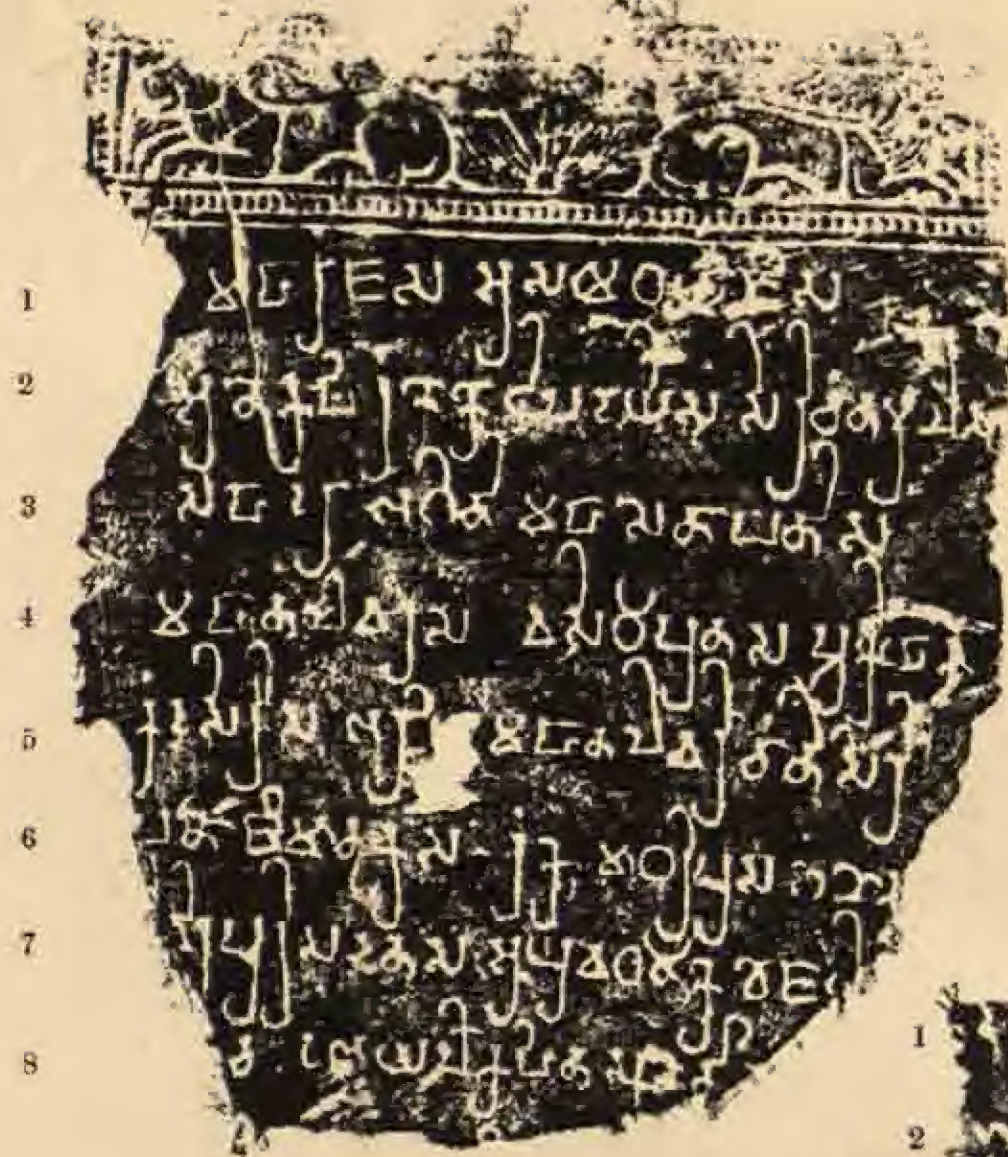
(l. 1) m]
(l. 2) Kandasi[ri]sa
(l. 3) Chātutisiri apano

Pillar-inscription M 8.

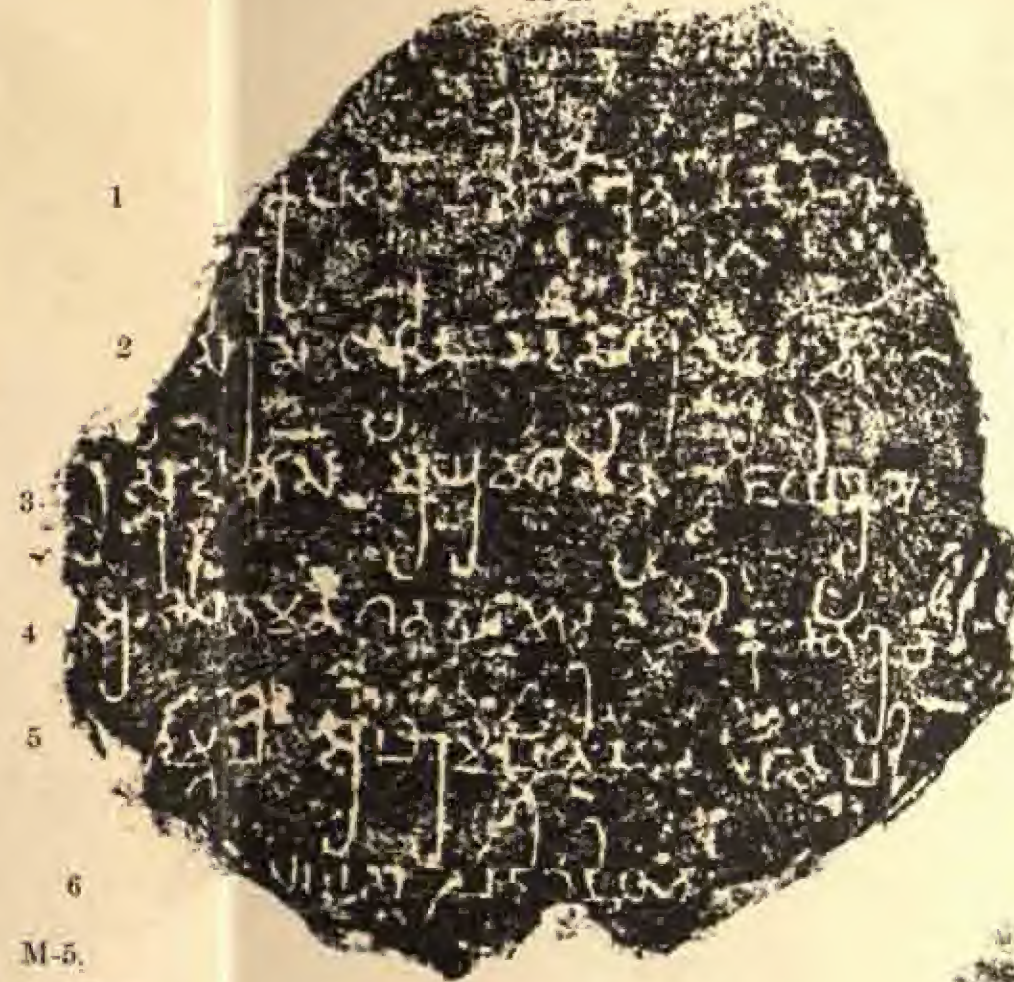
(l. 1) [sa]mopahayājina
(l. 2) [sata]pahasa-hala-satauhasa-[paly]isa]
(l. 3) [apat]ihata sathkapasa Vāsihipu[ta]sa] ..
(l. 4) [bha]gini mahā[sa]nāpatasa]

[There are traces of another line before this. See above Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription C 2.—Ed.]

M-1.



M-2.



M-3.



M-7.



M-9.



M-5.



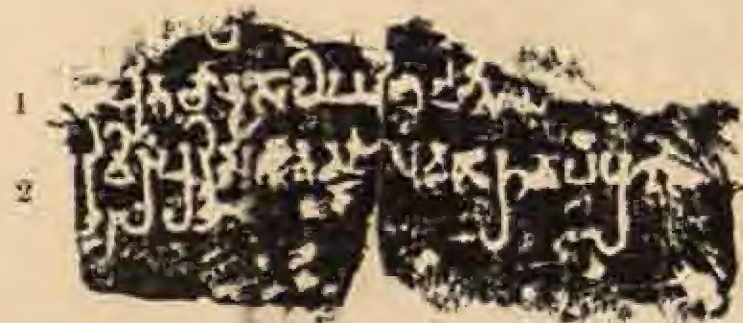
M-6.



M-8.



M-4.







ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA (III).

PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 10—19 & N.

M-10.



M-11.



M-12.



M-13.



M-14.



M-15.



M-16.



M-17.



N.



M-18.



M-19.



Pillar-inscription M 9.

- (l. 1) ... aghot-[ā]githoma-vā[japaya-]
 (l. 2) ... padāyisa savathesu
 (l. 3) ... [Vā]sitūputasa Puki[yānath] ...
 (l. 4) ... Ikhākunath Siri-Vinapu[risadatas] ..
 (l. 5) ... [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa¹

Pillar-inscription M 10.

- (l. 1) na[ri] nānādesa-saman-āgatānath] ...
 (l. 2) api cha spano ubhaya-kulasa at[ichhita] ...
 (l. 3) ... nikapa[ulke] parināmetuna ma
 (l. 4) parigaha savani[yutath]
 (l. 5) parīṭhapitath

Pillar-inscription M 11.

- (l. 1) nivāgathanāya
 (l. 2) tasa
 (l. 3) āgatānath
 (l. 4) dhiva
 (l. 5) nath
 (l. 6) [math]tavan

Pillar-inscription M 12.

- (l. 1) sa vasa ...
 (l. 2) nikapa[nike] ...
 (l. 3) parigaha
 (l. 4) vā pa 8

Pillar-inscription M 13.

- (l. 1) ma
 (l. 2) Agiho[t-ā]
 (l. 3) neka-hiradipa-koṭi-gu[antasaḥasa]
 (l. 4) [-padā]ri[no]

Pillar-inscription M 14.

- (l. 1) [sa]vajātan[īyutath] chatusāla]
 (l. 2) stano ubhaya-kulasa ...
 (l. 3) [ke] parināmetuna
 (l. 4) pu[ta]

Pillar-inscription M 15.

- (l. 1) [putasa]
 (l. 2) . [mahācheti]ya-[pādamāle] pava[ī]tānath] ..
 (l. 3) . [mahābhi]khu-nath[ghasa]
 (l. 4) na pari[nāme]tuna

Pillar-inscription M 16.

- (l. 1) [-par]igahitasa

¹ Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription G 8 above. Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 17.

- (l. 11) [Sūri-Vim[parisadatasu]
 (l. 2) [veṇṇayiko apīcha]

Pillar-inscription M 18.

- (l. 1) ... mahāsenapaṭṭisa] ...

Pillar-inscription M 19.

- (l. 1) [Sūri-Virapu[risadatasu]

Ayaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.

The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with āyaka-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

Transcription.

- (l. 1) ... rinashkānam Mūlasasinaka[sa] Sūthatha- (l. 2) [ka]pa Chadamukhasa
 Padhinakama hālika(ā) (l. 3) Mahatuvapika Sādhā[thasūnikā] Jakkhama

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous articles.

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*śala-maṇḍapa*) and 'chaitya-shrine' instead of 'chaitya-hall' (*chaitya-ghara*).

The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription F, line 3, contains the following passage:—*Kaṣṭakasaḍa mahāchetiyaṃ pava-dāra śala-maṇḍapa*. As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kaṣṭakasaḍa*; but as in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kaṣṭakasaḍa*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kaṣṭakasaḍhī*. Cf. *Purāṇa* (Śk. *Pāraṇaḍhī*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvati¹ contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kaṣṭakasaḍaka*, meaning 'a resident of K'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *u*-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kaṣṭakasaḍa* is correct. The form with *ṣ* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's *Kavvakaḥḍax*. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' *s.v.* *Kaṣṭakasaḍa* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvati inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*.² It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapuri referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription F, line 2, in the following passage: *Siripavata Vijayapuriya-pava-dīḍḍhāge viḍḍha Chāla-Dharmasiriyāsa chaitya-gharaṃ pa-pa-saṇḍhāraṃ acchatiyaṃ am-nigulana kṛtāna uṇḍāḷāya Bodhisattva*. It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikonda was named Vijayapuri. For there can be little doubt that the *chaitya-ghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building ensheath a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

¹ J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 106, No. 34.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 30, plate LVIII.

stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāṭṭabodhi, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapuri was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Apāramahāvīrasaḍḍiya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvati inscription mentions a locality *Mahācanasala*.¹ The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvīrasala* or *Mahāvīrasala*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

ugīḥa-ṭṭigīḥama-vāṇapay-āṇamedha-yāji (G 2, l. 2; G 3, ll. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; cf. M 13, l. 2).
achariya (G 2, l. 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l. 11).

atichhītam-avāṇata-uttamāśaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

aneka-kīraṇṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-kala-satasahasa-padāyi (G 2, ll. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; cf. M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).

aneka-kīraṇṇa-koṭi-padāyi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).

Apāramahāvīrasaḍḍiya (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).

Ayakeṇṇāri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Ayāri (L, l. 12), i.e. *Ayyāri*=Skt. *Āryāri*.

amamedha-yāji (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

āyuvadhanike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).

Ikkāba (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, ll. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 *ex conj.*, and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).

ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).

ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-mahānāya (M 1, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).

Edhāri (L, l. 10), a personal name.

Kaṇḍasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 7, l. 2).

Kuṇḍalātā (L, l. 13), a personal name.

Khaṇḍakotāri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Skandakotāri*, a personal name.

Khaṇḍasāpāraṇṇaka-mātā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).

Khaṇḍasiri (L, ll. 7 and 10).

grīṣma-pakṣa (G 2, l. 9; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. *grīṣma-pakṣa* 'a fortnight of Summer.'

Golāri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. *Gold* in Bharhut inscriptions. Lüders' *List*, no. 836; also no. 596.

Chandamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.

chāṇḍāla-parigahita (M 4, l. 1). Cf. *sa-chāṇḍāla*, and *chāṇḍāla* in E, l. 2.

Chāṇḍasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).

chhūṭha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 14 *ex conj.*), i.e. *chhūṭha* 'sixth.'

Yakkha (N, l. 9), a personal name (l). Cf. such proper names as *Yakkhāsi*, *Yakkhina*, *Yakkhi* and *Yakkhila*. Lüders' *List*, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 549.

jāṇḍaka (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).

stambha (L, l. 13)=Skt. *stambha* 'pillar'. Cf. *selastambha* in C 2, l. 8.

deyadharmā (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. *deyadharmā* 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37).

¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 35, plate LVIII. Cf. p. 105, No. 49, plate LX.

Devī(-)vihāra (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'.

Nandisiri (L, l. 13), i.e. Nandisiri Skt. *Nandisiri*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Nandisiri* in Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' List, no. 1127.

Nāgavarasiri (T) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggarayapeta inscriptions. Lüders' List, nos. 1202-4.

nānādeśa-sāman-āgata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

nīkapanika (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in B, l. 2.

patipadda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Parāṅgatasiri (L, l. 11)=Skt. *Parāṅgatasiri*, a personal name.

Parajatisiri (L, l. 10), perhaps=Skt. *Pārijātasiri*, a personal name.

parisūmetana (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4).

parajita (M 3, l. 3).

Pudhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.

Pūkiya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).

Ropisiri (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bahurutiya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; cf. G, l. 8).

bālikā (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.

bāliya or *biliya* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 5)=Skt. *dvitīya* 'second'. Cf. *bāliya* and *bāli* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

Buddhi in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), i.e. *Buddhi*, a personal name.

bhagini (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*). In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37) we have the form *bhagini*.

Bhaṭṭasiri (G 2, l. 6; G 3, ll. 9-10).

bharyā (M 1, l. 6; M 2, l. 2) and *bharyā* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9)=Skt. *bhāryā*.

manjara (M 11, l. 6 *ex conj.*), i.e. *manjara*=Skt. *manjara*.

Mahariput(t)a or *Māhārīputa* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 8; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 5 *ex conj.*).

Maduvāsiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Mahatuvāsika (N, l. 3), a personal name.

mahācetiya-pādamūla (M 2, l. 5 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātalaṃvara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātalaṃvari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

mahādeśi (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9; L, l. 6).

mahābhikṣu-saṅgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāśāhāra (M 3, l. 3).

mahāśāhāra (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 18, l. 1).

Mahārasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mahārasiri*, a personal name.

Misāsiri (L, l. 7)=Skt. *Misāsiri*, a personal name. Cf. the name *Misi*, i.e. *Misā* in P, l. 3.

Mulasirivika (N, l. 1), a personal name.

Mūlasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mūlasiri*, a personal name.

Moda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), a personal name.

Ratunāsiri (L, l. 3), a personal name.

Ratūtasiri (L, l. 12), a personal name.

Rāmasiri (L, l. 9)=Skt. *Rāmasiri*, a personal name.

*vasantaga*¹ (L, l. 3; M 3, l. 6), a term of uncertain meaning.

vāṣa-pakha (L, l. 3) or *vā. pa.* (M 4, l. 2; cf. M 3, l. 5; M 12, l. 4) Skt. *varsha-pakha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'.

Vāṣhiputa or *Varethiputa* (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, l. 6; L, l. 5; M 1, l. 4; M 2, l. 1; M 6, l. 3; M 8, l. 3; M 9, l. 3).

Vijhaṭhaciviri (L, l. 7), a personal name. Cf. the name *Vijha*=Skt. *Vindhya*, Lüders' List, no. 579.

Virūpa(k)khopati-Mahāsena-parigāhita (G 2, l. 2; G 3, l. 2).

vihāra (G 2, l. 7).

vī(ā)ṣaga (L, l. 3) 'twentieth'.

vejayike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 17, l. 2) and *viṣaya-vejayike* (M 5, l. 4).

Śaka in footprint-slab inscription (Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 37)=Skt. *Śaka* 'Scythian'.

saṃgata (L, l. 3), i.e. *saṃga-gata*=Skt. *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'.

sa-chātumāla (M 3, l. 6).

Satlisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name. Cf. the name *Sātīla*, Lüders' List, no. 259.

Samudāsiri (L, l. 11), i.e. *Samuddāsiri*=Skt. *Samudrātī*, a personal name.

Samusiri (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Saravikā (L, l. 13), a personal name.

saṃpātānigata (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 11; cf. M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).

saṃkathu apatihata-saṃkath(p)a (G 2, l. 4; G 3, ll. 5-6; L, l. 5; M 2, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 6, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 8, l. 3 *ex conj.*; cf. M 9, l. 2).

saṃvāyuta (M 10, l. 4).

sa(ṃ)vaśhara (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13) or *saśhara* (M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2).

sāhodarā (L, l. 6; M 1, l. 3; M 6, l. 3).

sāmi (L, l. 9 *ex conj.*) Skt. *svāmin*. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Andhra king Sīri-Pulumāvi. Cf. Amarāvati inscription no. 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.

Siddhatthaka (S, ll. 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt. *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name.

Siddhatthasānikā (S, l. 3), i.e. *Siddhatthasānikā*, a personal name.

Siri-Ehuvula-Chātumāla (G 2, l. 8) or *ṣ-Ehuvula* (G 3, ll. 12-13).

Siri-Chātumāla (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; L, ll. 2, 6; M 1, l. 2; M 6, l. 2).

Siri-Virapurisādāt(t)a (G 2, l. 5; G 3, ll. 8-9; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 5; M 4, l. 2; M 9, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 17, l. 1; M 19, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

Siṃhāpūrisi (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.

Samūlisiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

śaṃhā (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 7; cf. P, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. *śaṃhā* 'a daughter-in-law'.

śubhatarikā (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.

hiraṇya-koti-go-satavahana-hula-satavahana-pādāyi (G 3, ll. 4-5; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two akṣaras respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near *Stūpa* No. 9. A third inscription, evidently a single word of four akṣaras, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument. The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning.

¹ Can it be *śaṃvāyuta*?—Ed.

No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NĀLANDĀ.

By HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Some sixteen years ago the archaeological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhist, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well-known formula

ये धर्मा इत्थमेषा हेतुत्तेषां तयागतां छन्दत् ।
तथाच वो निरोध एव वादो महात्रयमणः ॥

which, we are told, Aśvajit read to Śāriputra, and is usually interpreted¹ as

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause

The cause has been told by Tathāgata;

And their suppression likewise

The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bodhisattvas, Mañjārī and Avalokiteśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among these seals connected with Buddhist Congregations or *Saṅghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend:—

योगातन्दामहाविहारोद्ययमिच्छसङ्घम्,

meaning

'Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of Śrī-Nālandā.' The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the 'Preaching of the Law' (धर्मचक्रप्रवर्त्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the "Deer Park" where the Buddha first turned the 'Dharmacakra' (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sāyānāth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *bhikkhus* were engaged in expounding or preaching the 'Law'. To form an idea of what this device is,

¹ Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 27.

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal*.¹ That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, i.e., the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr. Spooner,² Mr. Dikshīt,³ and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.⁴ I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskara-varman of Prāgjyōtisha.⁵ At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of Śārvavarman Maukhari and of Harsha of Thānāsar which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the Aśirgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sonpat seal, as represented by the facsimile⁶ given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

The seals of King Śārvavarman Maukhari.

One of the two seals of Śārvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Aśirgadh seal. The other is cut into two parts, almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for *lā* in the word *Maukharī*, occurring in the last line of the Aśirgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *ā* in line 6 is practically clear but it is not so in the Aśirgadh specimen. There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Aśirgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chourie* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for *dharma*: *सुयो हि भगवान् धर्मः*.⁷ The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāṇḍālar*, who want to kill the

¹ Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 321. A. S. R., 1922-23, plate XV(d).

² *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1916-17, p. 43.

³ *Ibid.*, for 1917-18, pp. 446 ff.

⁴ *Journ. B. O. R. Soc.*, Vol. V (1910), pp. 302 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1910), p. 305.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate xxvii B.

⁷ Cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 219.

⁸ *Mumukshū* (VIII, 16).

animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below; the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot-notes.

TEXT.

- 1 *Chatur-mukhā-śikhrānta-kīrtiḥ* pratāp-ānuraḡ-āpanat-ānya-rā[ś]ā[ś] varuḡ-āramā-
vyavasthā-
- 2 paṇa-pravṛtta-śakṛat-śakṛadhara (va) prajānām-artihara[ś] erī¹ Mahāśja-Śari-
varmā[ś]² Tasya
- 3 putras³-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Jayasvāmīnī-bhaṭṭāṅkā-dēvyām⁴-utpannaḥ⁵ erī-
Mahārāj- Adityava-
- 4 rmmā[ś]⁶ Tasya⁷ putras-tat-p[ā]d-ānuddhyātō Harshaguptā-bhaṭṭāṅkā-dēvyām-
utpannaḥ⁸ erī-Mahārāj⁹
- 5 j-Śarvavarmmā¹⁰ [ś]¹¹ Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō Upaguptā¹²-bhaṭṭāṅkā-
dēvyām¹³-utpannaḥ
- 6 Mahā[ś]¹⁴-rājādhitāja-erī¹⁵ Iśānavarmmā[ś]¹⁶ Tasya putras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō
Lakṣmīva¹⁷
- 7 ā-bhaṭṭāṅkā-Mahādēvyām¹⁸-utpannaḥ-paramamāhēvyarō¹⁹ Ma-
- 8 hārājādhitāja-erī-Śarvavarmmā Maṅkharīḥ [ś]²⁰

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Iśānavarmmā is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.²¹

The seals of Haraha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Haraha of Thānśear. The Soapat seal which Fleet reproduced²² in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Haraha

¹ Like the Aṅgadh seal both these specimens give 'rāś' for 'rāj'.

² The varuḡ is left out in these seals also.

³ I think it is 'erī' in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 3.

⁴ The letters putra and the I of va are lost in A1.

⁵ It is clearly utpanna in both these seals.

⁶ Letters ruḡa tuḡa are missing in A1.

⁷ The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.

⁸ Both these seals give 'Mahā'.

⁹ The āstharas j-Śarvava are missing in A1.

¹⁰ In both these seals, too, the symbol after 'j' is more like 'erī' than 'pe' : cf. Fleet, *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220, t. n. 2.

¹¹ The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters *erī* *erī* are lost in A1.

¹² Both these seals give 'erī', cf. the 'erī' symbol in line 3. The letter in 'erī-*erī*' is intentional, evidently.

¹³ The 'erī' symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakṣmīva is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.

¹⁴ A diameter gives 'Mahā' though the length mark is not so clear in A1.

¹⁵ 'O' mark is clear in both.

¹⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁷ *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

¹⁸ *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

¹⁹ *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

²⁰ *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

²¹ *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

²² *G. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f. and plate XXXII-B.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (I).

A

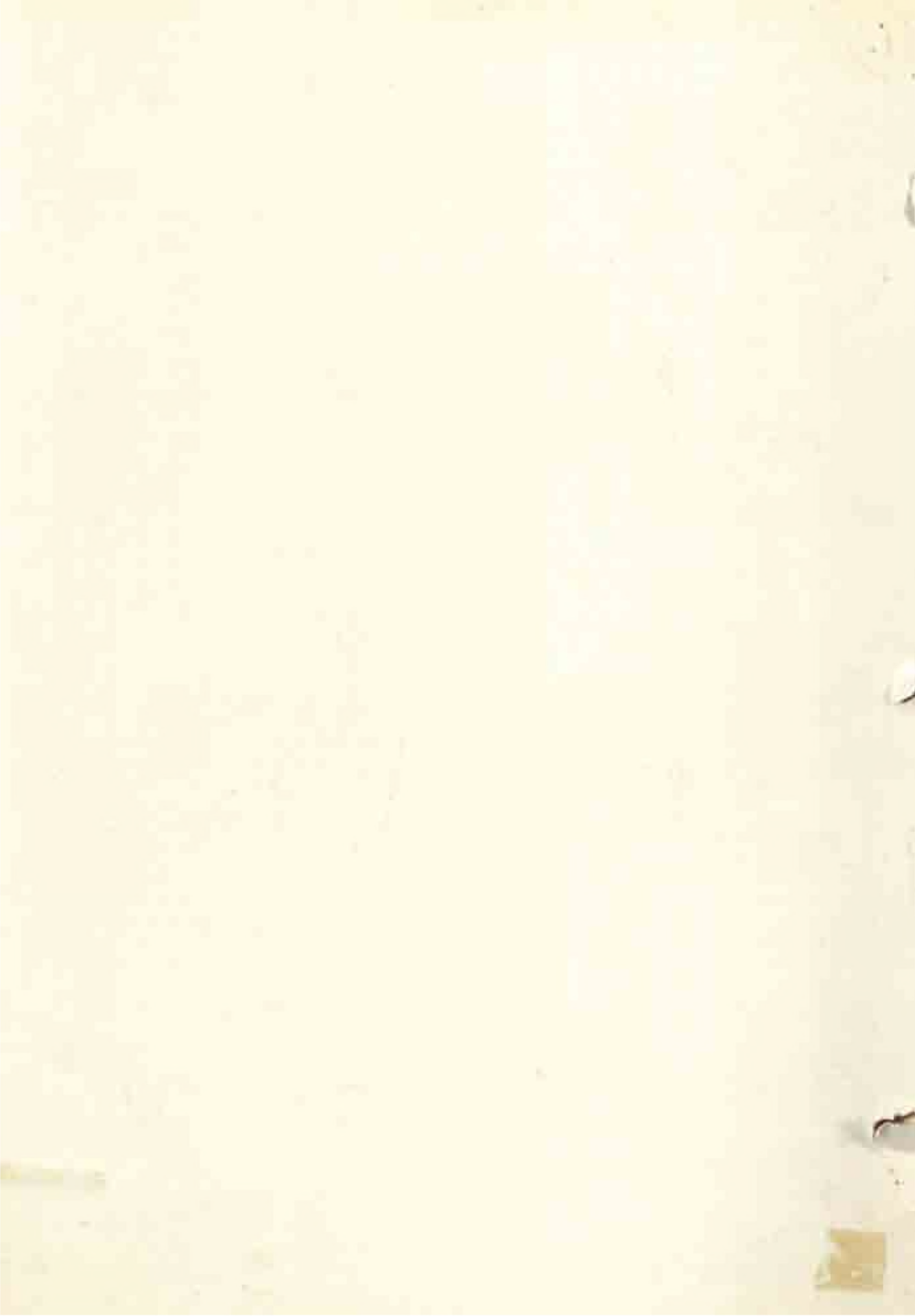
A-1



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.





SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

INDIA: CALCUTTA.

12



INDIA: CALCUTTA.

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", measuring the surface encompassed by the best curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *aksharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Śarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban¹ and the Banākhera² copper-plates of this potentate.

TEXT.

- 1 Symbol³ [□] Mahārāja-śrī-Nara[varddhanas-ta]ḥ[aya] puttās-tat-pād-ānudhyātā[ḥ]⁴
Śrī-Vajrīpā-
- 2 dēvyām-utpannah paramādityabhā[ktā] Mahārāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhanah[ḥ]⁵ Tasya
puttās-tat-pā-
- 3 d-ānudhyātāḥ śrī-Apsarōdēvyām⁶-utpannah[ḥ] paramādityabhā[ktā] Mahārāja-śrīmān-
Ācītya-
- 4 varddhanah[ḥ]⁷ Tasya puttās-tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ⁸ śrī-[Ma][hā]sēnaguptādēvyām-
u[tpa]⁹-nnah chaturdāsa-
- 5 dr-ākṣkrānta-kr[īti]ḥ[ḥ] prajāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya]¹⁰-rājō varypōśrāma¹¹-vyavasthāpana-
pravṛtta-
- 6 chakṛa chachakkratāḥ iva prajānām-aritih[arāḥ]¹² paramādityabhā[ktā[ḥ] paramā-
bhā[ṭṭāraka-
- 7 Mahārājābhīrāja-śrī-Prabhākaravarddhanah[ḥ]¹³ Tasya puttās-tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ¹⁴
atīlavita-
- 8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām-amala-yasōmatyāḥ[ḥ] [śrī]-Yasōmatyām-utpannah[ḥ] paramā-
mugataḥ Suga-

¹ See above, Vol. I, pp. 72 f.² See above, Vol. IV, pp. 216-21.³ Or as added.⁴ Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banākhera copper-plate inscriptions.⁵ Fleet gives Ma[ḥ]rāj[ā]dēvyāḥ instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdēvi.⁶ Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line forwards and giving a small bend to its end.⁷ Fleet gives m[ah]rāj[ā]dēvyāḥ in his reading of the Sonpat seal.⁸ The Madhuban and the Banākhera records show sandhi here—"amāḥ".

- 9 [ta i]va parahit-ānuratāḥ paramabhāṣā[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājyavarddhana-
[h*]ta-
10 ay-ānujaṣ-tat-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramabhā[ṣā]trikā-Mahādēvi-śrī-Yasōma[tyāra]dē-
11 vyāma-[v*]-d[ī]pānuḥ paramamā[hā]śvaraḥ Mahāśvara iva sarva-sa
12 tv-ānukampaka[h*] paramabhāṣā[raka]-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-śrī-Harshaḥ[h*]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banakhera plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *akṣaras vardhanaḥ* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

- 1 Nagara-bhuktan kumār-ānāty-ādhi-
- 2 karapasya [h*]

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakṣmi, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to dignitaries or private individuals the one of śrī-Paśu-patisirihā, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palaeographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows:—

- 1 Vijit-ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
- 2 vṛtti-nipūṇasya aya-guṇ-ābharapasya
- 3 śrī-Paśupatisirihasya la[kṣmī-edaṁ] [h*]

This may be rendered as —

'The token of the illustrious Paśupatisirihā, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (performing) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (his) foes.' The use of the word *lakṣma*, meaning 'token', is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word 'pāṇpāda'. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimhate, with left hand holding, probably, a *phala* or *mangalakalāśa*, the right, a rosary or *akṣamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading:—

- 1 Purikā-grāma-jā-
- 2 pāṇpādaḥ [h*]

* *h* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were strikes together.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III).

D



E



F



and means '(The seal) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the *Purikā*-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*śāśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body**. In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir.

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of *Pādapāk* (or 'g') and the legend which it bears reads:—

Pādapāk-grāmaṃya [1*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun. Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use. No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lekha-śāra* or courier from Kṛishṇa, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāṇa gives in the *Harshacharita*:—

यथ तेनानीयमानम्, यतिनिविडसूत्रवन्धनिक्षितान्तरालकृत-
व्यवच्छेदया लिखमानिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, प्रविशन्तं लिखहारक-
मद्राक्षोत्.

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up rightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a rugged clout, swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it:'. Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of *Paṇupatīnūha*, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*śāśā*' cloth. In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan and Serindia*. These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged. This is done even now also. In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lekha-śāra* was like the *harārah* of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings *Narasimhagupta*, his son *Kumārāgupta*, *Budhagupta* and *Vaiṇyagupta*, and also the kings [*Bha*]gavachchandra, *Supratishṭhita-varman*, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of *Kumārāgupta*'s mother has to be read as *Mitrādēvī* and not *Śmatidēvī* or *Lakṣmīdēvī*, and that of *Puragupta*'s mother, as *Vaiṇyadēvī* not *Vatadēvī*. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā.

No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128

BY RADHAGOVINDA BASAK, M.A., Dacca.

This copper-plate was discovered in 1920 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Raj Sahib Kumardnath Das, Zamindar of Hilli, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hilli) in the District of Bogra, Rajshahi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Purnan Akandiar till it was brought to Hilli early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Raj Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gauda Research Society, Howrah, and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Kradabaman Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (i.e., ancient *Posyāvarādhana-bhūmi*). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, viz., the Dhanadaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I.; the year 113,¹ the Five Damodarapur copper-plate inscriptions² and the Pāhāpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.³ The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *khilla* (fallow) and *vitta* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants⁴, numbered A, B and C by Patgiter, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarapur grants or in the Pāhāpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9" × 6", approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it; the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protruberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and lost. The hole here would show that a seal was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarapur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarapur, the Dhanadaha and the Pāhāpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ḍ* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *akṣara* as, for example, in *grāmiḍa* (l. 2). The form of *ṣ* in *rāṣaḍa* (ll. 9 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *h* is distinguished from *ṣ* in this document also (see, for example, *Brahmanā* l. 2 or *śāhaganti* l. 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *ha* and *ḥy* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *śāḥḥy* occurring in the word *śāḥḥyāḥy* (l. 10) may be noted. The form of the medial *ṣ* and *ḥ* in the letters *m*, *ṣ* and *ḥ* requires attention (see, e.g., *māḥa* in l. 6).

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.² *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 89 ff.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 102 ff.

śādhā in l. 22 and *paśyati* in l. 23). This form of *ś* is to be found with the letter *ś* also, as, for example, in *śāst* (l. 23). The sign for the lingual *ṣ* is used in *śaṣṭhāgā* (ll. 18-19). The form of the final *t* and *w*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *śast* (l. 23), *śaśṭhāgā* (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 5 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 48.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *kṛṣṭa* (ll. 4) and *śruti* (l. 4). *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places, as in *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 19) and *śaśṭhāgā* in line 17.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention: (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *g*, as in *śmārikā* (l. 5) (but in the same word in line 12 *k* seems to be single) and *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 1). (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r*: e.g., *śmārikā* (ll. 5 and 12) and *śaṣṭhāgā* (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *k*, *d*, *g* and *c* are doubled after the super-script *r*: e.g., *śmārikā* (ll. 5 and 11), *śmārikā* (l. 23), *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 20), *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 12), *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 19), *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 20) and *śaṣṭhāgā* (l. 23) respectively.

The inscription is dated in *Saṃvat* 128 on the nineteenth of Māgha. This *saṃvat* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era. It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, viz., 128 of the Gupta era. The use of the Gupta *saṃvat* was current in North Bengal during this period. The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāṇḍurpur plate. Evidently the words *Śaṣṭhāgā-pāda* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, viz., Kumāragupta I.

The object of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *śūlka* of revenue-free *khila* (fallow) fields and two *śūlka* of *śānta-pāda* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyagrāma, viz., Trivṛtā and Śrīgṛhā, by two persons named Bhāṣya and Bhāṣka for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, etc., required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvīndasvāmī which was founded by their father Śivanandīn. The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Pañchanagari, possibly the district (*vishaya*) headquarters. The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*vishay-ādhipati*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named Kulaviddhi and had the title of Kumārahāditya. The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (*śānta-pāda*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *śūlka* in use there. The members of the *vishay-ādhipati*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *vishaya* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after buying received its price at the fixed rate of 2 *dināras* per *śūlka* which was in vogue in that *vishaya*. These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *śānta-pāda*.

It is not unlikely that like the Kōtivanḍa of the Damodarpur grants and the Khādī-tāpāra of the Dhansilaka plate, the Pañchanagari of the inscription under publication was one of the *vishayas* of the old Pundravardhana-*śānta*; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivṛtā and Śrīgṛhā. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyagrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōṣṭivarsha and Pañchamagari. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hill in Bogra. The name Śrīgōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vāja-Gōhālī and Nīva-Gōhālī of the Pālāpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *diṇāra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *diṇāra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōṇapāṇas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to 1 *diṇāra* because 1 *kulyavāpa* (=8 *drōṇas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *diṇāras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *diṇāra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, i.e., *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, e.g., *paṇa*) and *dhana-rūpa* (copper coin, e.g., *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpa-darsaka* in that work.¹

As regards the different rate of price of *khāla* and *cāta* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *diṇāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*tridīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pālāpur one, we have the rate of two *diṇāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*dvīdīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*); whereas in almost all the Farīdpur plates the rate is that of four *diṇāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*chaturdīnārīkya-kulyavāpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pālāpur inscription it has become clear that one *kulyavāpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōṇapāṇas*, for there 12 *drōṇas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyavāpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyavāpa* being equal to 8 *drōṇas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, viz., that the *viśāyapatis*, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *viśāy-ādhikāṇas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *aparīkṣa-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulavarddhi, the *viśāyapati*, is here described as directly meditating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhagavata-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *viśāya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavarddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vāstravarma of Kōṣṭivarsha appointed to his responsible post by *aparīkṣa* Chitrāśadatta, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramādityanta*, *paramabhaṭṭārāṇa* Mahārājā-dharmaja Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulavarddhi and Vāstravarma must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *viśāyas* in North Bengal.

¹ Dr. Shamassstry's Translation, p. 85. Cf. Mr. K. P. Jayswal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

FIRST SIDE.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 २ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ५ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ६ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ७ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ८ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ९ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 १० ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 ११ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 १२ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 १३ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः
 १४ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ कुमारगुप्तः प्रह्वित्वा गङ्गायाः तटस्थः

Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapati* of Kōṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhiṅkara*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *mayam-śālāhika* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathamā-śrībhūṭha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-lōgastha* (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṣṭravardhana's *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhiṅkara* than in Pañchanagari of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (i.e., Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Pañchanagaryyā Bhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānandhyātā Kumārāmāya-Kula-
vridhīr-śatā-vishay-ādhiṅkara-pāreha
- 2 Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōḥ Brāhmaṇ-ōṭarān-samvyavāhārī-pramukhān-
grāma-kuṇṇabinaḥ kuśalan-am-
- 3 varṇya bōdhayanti(tī) [||*] Vijnāparatōra(tō)=ti-ziya-vāstavya-kuṇṇabi-Bhōyila-
Bhāskarāv-āyayōḥ pūrā Sivanandi-
- 4 nū kār[ta]ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāmīnaḥ dēvakulaa(ati)-tad-asāt-āpa(tad-
adō-lpa)-vṛittikaḥ(am) [||*] Iha viśhaya samudaya-
- 5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshēttirāpām-akinchit-pratiharāgām śāsvad-śchandr-ārkkā-
tāraka-bhōjyānām(nām)-akahaya-nivya
- 6 divi-dinātilkya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛittas-tad-achath + āyayō = sakāśāt-ahaj-dinārān-
ashta cha rūpakān-āy-
- 7 [kr]itya Bhagavatō Gōvindasvāmīnō dēvakulō [kha]pā-paṇṭa-pratisamśka(skā)ra-
karapāya gandha-dhūpa-dipa-
- 8 ammanasā[m*] pravarttanāya cha Trivṛitāyām Bhōg(yi)lasya khila-kshēttira-
kulyavāpa-trayāḥ Śrīgōhālyā(ā)=ch-āpi
- 9 talā-vāpak-ārtha(m*) sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpan-ōkati Bhāskarasy-āpi sthala-
vāstunō drōṇavāpaḥ-cha dātu-
- 10 m-āti [||*] Yatō yushmān-bōdhayāma[b*] Postapāla-Durgādatt-ārkkadāsayā-
avadhāraṇayā¹ avadhṛita-
- 11 m-asat-Iha viśhaya samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshēttirāpā[m*] śāsvad-
śchandr-ārkkā-tāraka-bhōjyānām divi-di-
- 12 nūriky-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō-nuvṛittāḥ [||*] Evathvidb-āpratikara-khila-kshēttira-
vikkrayō cha na kaśchid-cāj-ārththa-
- 13 virōdha upanahaya Iva Bhāṭṭāraka-pādānām dharmma-phala-ahaj-bhāg-āvāpti-
cha tad-diyatām-iti śayayōḥ

¹ Read *epāpita*. *Phapā* is evidently a Prākṛit form.² Read 'say-ānandhyān'.

- 14 Bhōyila-Bhāskaraśa-sakā[12^a] p-chañ-dinācā-athya cha rūpakān-āyibhitya Bha-
gavaiś Gōvindaśāminā
15 dēvakidaś-artihā Bhōyilāśya Trivṛtāyām lila-kabētra-kulavāpā-trayān
lān-vāpak-ādī-artiham.

Second Side.

- 16 Śrīgōhāyā[m^a] āthala-vāstinā drōgavāpam Bhāskaraśa-āpy-ātreāira āthala[ā]
va[ā]stinā drōgavāpā.
17 m-āva[m^a] kudyavāpa-trayam āthala-drōgavāpā-āyān-cha¹ ākaya-nīyā[ā] (vyā)
tāmra-pañjāna dattan nūna²
18 ku 3 āthala-drō 2 1² yūyam āva-karṣaṇ-āvinēdhi-āthān³ Darvakaṁma-
hastān-ābhāka-nayaka-na[ā]bhya.
19 m-apaviñchēhlyā chira-kūla-āthāri-tuṣ-āngā-ādi[ā] (m^a) chinnaiś-chāstarddān
nīyamya dēyath-ākaya-
20 nīvi-dharmamā(pā) cha śakva-kālam-anupālayinīyatha varttamāna-bhāvikyāś-
cha sūryavahāry-ādibhin-āta-
21 d-dharm-āpōkaya-anupālayitavyam-iti [m^a] Uktān-cha Bhagava[d]-Vidāryāna
mahātmanā [m^a] Śva-dattān para-dattān
22 vā(vā) yā karāta vāundharām [m^a] ā viśphāyān kama-bhātva
pitribhā-saha pāchyatē [m^a] Shashim varaha-saha-
23 arāgi svarggā mōdati bhūmidal [m^a] ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha ānya
Śva narakā vācē [m^a] Pārva-
24 dattam dvijātibhīrō yātān-rakha Yuddhakṣhira [m^a] mah[ā] (m^a) mahātātā
ārōdha ānāc-āhāryā-anpālā-
25 nanitq[m] [m^a] sari 100 20 8 Māgha di 10 9

TRANSLATION.

[LL 1-3] Bliss! From Pañchanagari¹ Kumārānāga Kulavṛiddhi, who meditates on the feet of the Bhāṣṭaraka (i.e., the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the adhikaryas (court) of the rishya and the village-householders, along with the Brāhmanas and others and the Chief-officers (Samayavahāras) of (the two localities named) Trivṛtā and Śrīgōhāli connected with the village named Vāyigrāma.

[LL 3-6] Bhōyila and Bhāskara, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply.—'The (building) of the temple of Lord Gōvindaśāmin founded by Śivamandira, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this arāya prevails (the procedure) of sale at the rate of two dīnāra for each kulavāpā of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue to the State, (the lands being purchased) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

¹ Read ch-āhāka.

² This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. (Pāpke (-Alt.) suppling in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for śat, viśva meaning i.e. land.—Ed.)

³ The Pāṣāpur plate gives mū (L 10) which is a much better reading.—Ed.

⁴ [The word is the reading in the Pāṣāpur plate also, where in the place of māhānāś (L 10) it would be better to read māhānāś as in this plate.]

⁵ This word seems to be the name of the village in charge of Kulavṛiddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (adhikaryas) of the rishya was situated.

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from the liability of payment of any kind of taxes.

[Ll. 5-10] *So design to make a grant to (me) Bhōyila, of three kulyavāpas of khila (i.e., waste) land in Trivṛtā and one drōṇavāpa of vāta (i.e., homestead) land, for (dwelling) site (śala) and palm (vāṭaka) in Śrīgōhāli, and to (me), Bhāskara, one drōṇavāpa of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from its an income of six dināras and eight (silver) coins.*

[Ll. 10-15] *Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgadatta and Arkhādīsa (these),—there exists in this cishaya (the procedure of) sale at the rate of two dināras for each kulyavāpa of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue to the king, to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection (out of fear of any loss) on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of khila fields, free from taxes: (rather) there is (possibility of) some income for the Bhāṣṭāma-pāda (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit (meriting from such an act). Hence the (land) should be given (by sale).*

[Ll. 15-18] *Thus on making an income of six dināras and eight (silver) coins (rāpaka) from Bhōyila and Bhāskara for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three kulyavāpas of khila fields in Trivṛtā and one drōṇavāpa of vāta land in Śrīgōhāli were granted (by sale) to Bhōyila and one drōṇavāpa of vāta land in the very same place (i.e., Śrīgōhāli) to Bhāskara, by the execution of a copper-plate (śānta) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (śāśvatasīdhi), thus the total measurement of land (sold) being three kulyavāpas and two khila-drōṇavāpas (stated in figures as ka 3 and śhaladāś 2 respectively).*

[Ll. 18-21] *(So) you shall make over (to the two applicants the portion of land) by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having divided (the area) by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands of Darcikarmama, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit.*

[Ll. 21-25] (Here follow three imprecatory stanzas.)

[Ll. 25] *(Here the charter) ends. The year (sam) 128, the 19th day of Māgha.*

NO. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

By D. R. BRANDHARKE.

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Barn Fahir of the Mahāsthāngach village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology, it has now been deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Banga-Bāṇī*, though I have not seen it as all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *strik* is the last word of l. 2, *dhānigam* is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The alphabet remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters *t*, *p*, *b*, *z* and *s* is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kāśī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *ś*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, *s* and *ś*, is quite certain. The word *saṁvāgānām* occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s*, it has the form of *ś* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *saṁvāgānām* being the word intended. The *ś*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *ś*. Similarly in regard to *śabbhā* (l. 2) and *śaṁgīpīṭhā* (l. 3), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *ś*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *ś*, the latter looks like *ś*. This *ś*-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kāśī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *ś*-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Multisch is not right in reading it invariably as *ś*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.

As regards the language of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhyadīśa influenced by Māgadhī or rather the court language of Māgadhā. Here we have to notice the change of *s* to *ś* and of the ending *ya* to *ā*. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhī. We have, on the other hand, the dental *s* only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal *ś* which is the third characteristic of Māgadhī, according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in *ā*, and never in *ā*. As regards Orthography, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not grammatically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a *visarga* to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright *visarga* may be found in the Kāśī and Sahasrām Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kāśī Rock Edict XIII has the following: *Alpa- (m) śāśā*;



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MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHAJHATTA.

From an estampage.



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.



SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE.

Abhishta- | *cha* [De] *vanampiyasha* *Pisadashina* | *āyina* | (Hultzsch, *G. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 45). In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences.

The transcript of our record is as follows —

1. *nena* *Sa[m*]ya[m*]g[ā]nam* {*Galadanusa*} | *Dumadina*-{*mahā**}
2. *māte* | *śulakhite* *Pudanagalate* | *e[ta]m*
3. [n]**raṭṭapayisati* | *Sathva*{*m**}*myātama* {*cha* *di**}*na* {*tathā**}
4. {*dihā**}*āyana* | *nivahisati* | *da*{*m**}*g[ā]nyāy[i*]k[ā]* *d[evā*]*
5. {*tiyā**}*iyikani* | *su-attiyāyika*{*si*} *pi* | *gaha*{*a*}*kahi**
6. {*dihāni**}*iyikahi* *esa* *koṭhāgāle* *kosam* {*bhara**}
7. {*piya*}

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *nena*. The word originally must have been either *śānana* or *śachana*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l. 1, as the most one letter could have preceded *nena* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *śānana* or *śachana*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l. 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding in which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*śāna**]*nena* *Sa*{*m**}*ya*{*m**}*g[ā]nam* [*Galadanusa*], punctuated by the *virāma* of l. 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *śāna* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Saragiyānam*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l. 3 as *Sathvāyānam*, where the *anuvāra* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Samvargīyānam*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vargiyānam*, 'of the class-folios, or the clannum', with *anuvāra* prefixed to it. But this prefix *anuvāra* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *śāna* to 'Galadana of the clannum'? Who were these clannum? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another *anuvāra* this time after *va*, and read the whole word as *Samvargīyānam*, 'of the Sathvāyāna (tribe)'. The insertion of an *anuvāra* after *va* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l. 3 we have *Pudanagalate*, which obviously stands for *Pudānagalate*. That *Vatigya* is, like the *Vajjia*, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different *Vajji* clans is sometimes called *Samyajj*, it is not impossible that the various *Vatiga* clans were similarly summed up under the name *Sathvāyāna*. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l. 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Samvargīyānam* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anuvāra* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanusa*—(Sk.) *Galāṇḍaraya*. It seems that *Galadana* was a leader or chief of the *Sathvāyāna*, to whom something was granted by *śāna*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. Thus first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Dumadina*{*sa*} (*ā*)*māte* or *Dumadina*-*mahāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-dighyabhi pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gandaka* has been preserved in l. 3. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as [*y*]ikēhi *eva koshāgāle kṣamā*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows: *gandaka(kēhi*) [dhānā*]yikēhi eva koshāgāle kṣamā [bhūtaglye*)*. The whole may thus be rendered into English: "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gandakas*". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *koshāgāle*=*koshāgātrah*=granary, and (2) *kṣamā*=*ksamā*=treasury. Corresponding to *kṣamā* we have the mention of *gandaka*, which means "a coin of the value of four cowries". The *yikēhi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily rendered to [*dhānā**]yikēhi=*dhānagāle*, as it corresponds to *koshāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṅgīyas*. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of superabundance returned, they were to remit *gandaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

ll. 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gandaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gandaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the *Sauvāṅgīyas*, which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *śāsana* granted to Galadana (Galāḍana) of the *Sauvāṅgīyas*, who is mentioned in l. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *śāsana* referred to the *gandaka* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the *Sauvāṅgīyas* and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows: It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Puyāranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called *Sauvāṅgīyas*, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gandaka* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a head of the *Sauvāṅgīyas*. The Mahāmātra of Puyāranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the *Sauvāṅgīyas* will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows:—

"To Galadana (Galāḍana) of the *Sauvāṅgīyas* (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly suspicious Puyāranagara will cause it to be carried out. (And likewise) paddy has been granted to the *Sauvāṅgīyas*. The outbreak (of distress) in the town during this outbreak of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (may be replenished) with paddy and the *gandaka* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *esa kothāgāle* occur in the last line. The word *esa* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription above, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Udaipur Rihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Pe-ship-p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty li or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-fo-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Punnavaridhana but is intended for Puṇḍravardhana.¹ "This city" says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 600 li, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rajmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rajmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".² The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karotīyā-māhātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. The *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karotīyā-māhātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana-kṣātra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varanasi Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvaṇanda (1150 A.D.) in his *Tīlā-carita* on the *Amanikṣaka* and two in the *Smṛitichandrikā* by Dvānamaharāja who is himself quoted by Hemādri (12th century).³ This shows that the *Karotīyā-māhātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *esa kothāgāle*. As the *kothāgāle* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the *Sahivratīgṛāma* was the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Puṇḍranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kaṇḍiṇya says in his *Arthśāstra*: "*darbhikāke nīpā bīja-bhakti-śaṅgraham kṛtv-
famine, the king may show favour by giving gratis seeds (bīja) and food (bhakta). Either he may carry out work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food gratis (without exacting work)". It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times*

¹ Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-5.

² *J. S. I. R.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.

³ *Varanasi Res. Soc.'s Monograph*, No. 2, p. 23.

⁴ IV, 2, 78.

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Pundranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratis* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment, but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the *Sahvaṅgīyas* was not *amasi* or boiled rice, but rather *dhāṇya* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when broken, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the *Sahvaṅgīyas*? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān or Pundranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karutōvā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *grasaka* coin among the *Sahvaṅgīyas*. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohagura "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur". This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vienne Ori. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 261 ff, afterwards by Fleet in *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 519 ff, and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in *Ann. Bhadr. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpreted. The last line should have been read *atyāyikāya na yāhitaṇya* "nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)". Our record speaks of two *atyāyikas*, one of which is *so-atyāyika*. It is this *atyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohagura copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohagura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Śrīvastī, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of countervailing the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadēśa influenced by the Māgadhi.¹ It was really the language of the Mauryan Court

¹ For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka* (2nd Ed.), p. 260-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts contiguous to it. Places like Kālā in the Dehra Dun District, Dhauli in the Puri, and Jangadā in the Ganjam District, where also the Fourteen Rock-Edicts of Aśoka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these inscriptions are couched in the Madhyadēśa-Māgadhī dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahminism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahminism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Ātārāya-Brāhmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Sunahśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country".¹ The descendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Daśyus, and one of these Daśyu tribes specified in the Brāhmaṇa was the Puṣṭras, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pūrās, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.² The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Ātārāya-Brāhmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Puṣṭras or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jains. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jains, mentions, not one, but three *sākhās*, of the Gadhāva Gāṇa of Jain monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōtivarāṇa and Puṣṭravāṇikāna. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamruk in the Midnapur, Kōtivarāṇa, the same as Kōtgarh in the Dinājpur, and Puṣṭravāṇikāna, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jains being numerous in Puṣṭravāṇikāna. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pālāpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159—477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin.³ No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jainas settled in Tāmralipti, Kōtivarāṇa and Puṣṭravāṇikāna, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is : Who were the Saṁvāṇḍīyas, supposing that was the name really intended ? Saṁvāṇḍīyas in the first place reminds us of Saṁvājīis. We know that to the account of *Fo-li-chih* (= Yüji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that " *Fo-li-chih* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sam-fo-chih* (or Saṁvājīi) country".⁴ On this point Beal makes the following per-

¹ For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhārat. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

² It is curious that the Puṣṭras of arm so late a period as that of the Pūrās are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

⁴ *Watter's On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 81.

minent comment: "The country of the Vrijjis or Sathvrijjis, *i.e.*, united Vrijja, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, *viz.*, that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaishali." Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjis were once the most important were called collectively the Sathvrijjis or the United Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Sathvavajjyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vavajyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Sathvavajjyas or the United Vavajyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vavgas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coming a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vavgiya. If we now turn to the *Vāga* and the *Matsya Purāṇa* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vijaya*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vavgiyas. But let it be noted that there is none which has been called Vavga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vavgiya comes so close to the Vavgiya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vavgiya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vavgiya of the *Purāṇas* thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vavgiyas (wrongly called Vavgiyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Sathvavajjyas. And further the reference to the Sathvavajjyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Sathvavajjya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Sathvavajji confederacy was Vaishali which was the headquarters not of the Vajjis but of the Lichhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Sathvavajjyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vavgiyas but of the Puṇḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

No. 15.—JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA.
KALACHURI YEAR 918.

By RAI BARADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI.

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore two copper-plates were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archaeological Chemist through the Director General of Archaeology in India with the result that Mr. Muhammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure 14"×9", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

¹ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100.

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalise himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging $\frac{1}{2}$ " against $\frac{1}{4}$ " of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī and the language = Sanskrit. As regards orthography there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. *ḥ* has invariably been used for *h* in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, e.g., *abḥa* (1. 1), *abḥa* (1. 2), etc. The old form of *i* with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village Agari near Akharandi at the time of a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918, i.e., the 30th September 1167 A.D. The donor, the P. M. P. Jayasimhadēva, the devout worshipper of Mahādeva and the lord of the three Kāśīngas, after bathing in the Rāvā (Narmada) at Tripuri, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to Paṇḍita Dēhama Śarmā, son of Paṇḍita Dēhābhāra of the Agastya-gṛha, with 5 *prasthas* in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort Kāśhapācī, the Heri-apparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor Vimaladitya, the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion Paṇḍita Rādhava, the Chief Scribe Thakura Vatsarāja, the *Sādhavigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) Thakura Puruṣottama, the *Pradhāna* (Chief Warden) Kamaśasimha, the *Dakṣasādhyas* (Mentor of criminals) Paṇḍitaśimha, the *Mahāsāmanta* (Generalissimo), the *Alakapatalika* (Record Keeper), the Judge, the *Aśvādhanika* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *amul* trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, etc. with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *ghāṭa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes, which are usually not found in other records. The office of *Dakṣasādhyas* which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of *Dakṣasādhyasādhanika* usually found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. *Paṇḍitaśimha* seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of *Prasādhī*. The transfer of the river and the mountain

¹ The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śaiva sectaries of the Mattamayūras class—See Banerji, *History of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. 1.), pp. 116 ff.

² The two offices Vatsarāja and Puruṣottama are mentioned also in the Kumbhī plates—See Banerji, *History, etc.* p. 29 and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 110 ff.—*et.*

³ According to R. B. Bagum, *Śāhās* (See *Index* Vol. XIV, p. 195 or 'Head of the Office of Accounts', according to Dr. Banerji [*This* Vol. XII, p. 145].

⁴ It is very likely that *Dakṣasādhyas* are represented by the present day *Dandāda*, & criminal trials, as suggested by Dr. Himansu Bhaṭṭa.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donor. *Dakṣādhyādaya*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Prasavāṇḍa chārī rasarati kāmata māsīmāḍāya* which are the forerunners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a rigid form of *hōmē-faria*, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate २ is written in small letters, which apparently means *sim* or gift No. 2 given on the same day.¹ The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The genealogy of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Viśvak. Brahmā's offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bḍhana, offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bḍhana, offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Nārtarīya, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Hāhaya Prince, from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that race there was a prince named *Yovarājādēva*, who purified the town of Tripurī, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came *Kōkalla* whose son was *Gāṅgēyādēva*, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious *Karpādēva*, succeeded him. He founded *Karpāvati* and married a *Hāpa* lady *Āvallādēvi*, from whom was born *Yasahkarpādēva*. His son was *Gayākarpādēva* whose consort was *Alhāyādēvi*. From these were born *Narasimhadēva* and *Jayasimhadēva*, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the *gaddi* during the waning period of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. *Jayasimhadēva* succeeded his brother *Satasimhadēva*, who, we know from other records, was on the *gaddi* in 1150 A.D. The present record of *Jayasimhadēva*, of whose times three other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The geographical names occurring in the record are the well-known Tripurī (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpore), the river *Bēvā* or *Narmadā* near it, *Karpāvati*, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages *Agarā* and *Akharauda*, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called *Dakṣaśūlin* or *Dakṣaśūlika*, named *Vasārāja*, son of *Dharmā* and grandson of *Ahlyāddharmā* and engraved by the silversmith *Tāhaya*, son of *Pāhaya* of the *Kōkalla* family.

TEXT.

[Metres.—*Māhātī*, verses 1, 9, 12; *Āparchakhamārika*, v. 2; *Vasantāślaka*, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; *Āryā*, v. 6; *Sāhī*, vv. 11, 18; *Indratarjā*, v. 12; *Amuktak*, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Santālaślaka*, vv. 17, 30.]

First Plate.

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ [१ ॥] श्री नमो ब्र(ज)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जनजनाभस्तम् नमो-
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानक्षसति । अथ जयति स तस्मा-
- 2 पक्षमविस्तदक्षस्त[६] ॥ जयति जन्मप्राप्तवानश्विव(व)श्वु ॥ [१ ॥] अथ
बो(बो)धनमादि [ग]जपुत्रं पद्मया(जा)मातरमजवा(वा)श्ववम् । अथ
तनयं जनयाव(व)

¹ Reading seems to be *si* 2 which may be an abbreviation of *si* 2.—Ed.

² See Hirak's *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (1st edition), Nos. 31, 32, 44.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥*] पुत्रं पुरुरवममौरसमाय
सुनुईवष्य समजलराग्रिरसायनस्य । चासीदनन्दसम-
- 4 भागशतोपभोग्या वस्वोर्वशी च सुक[लव]मिशोर्वरा च । [३ ॥*]
अचा[न्वये] किल [गता]धिकसप्तमिधयूपोपस्यमुनोक्तविविक्तकीर्तिः । स-
- 5 तात्रि[न्नि]रत्नरसनाभरणाभिरामविश्वभरागुभरतो भरतो व[त्त]भूव ॥ [४ ॥*]
हेला[ष्टकीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तगसो गोत्रे जयत्वधिकमस्य
- 6 स कान्तवीर्यः । अचै[व] हेष्टयनृपान्वयपूर्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मणि
वचम या ॥ [५ ॥*] [स] ति[मात्र]ल इव कलधुरिवंशमसू-
- 7 त जगतीष्ठतां भ[त्ता] । सुतामणि[भि]रिवामलउतैः पूतं महीपति-
भिः ॥ [६ ॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो [नरन्दः] पौरंद[री]मिव
पुरी च-
- 8 पुरी पुनानः । चासीदाम्बुदपगम्भजाधिराजनिष्ठाधर्कमरियुवा युवराज-
देवः ॥ [७ ॥*] सि[न्हा]मने नृपतिमिहमसुषसूनु-
- 9 [मारु]पवर्चनभर्तुरमात्यमुखाः । कोकलमर्णवच[तुष्टय]वी[चि]मंघमंघदृ[व]चतु-
[रंग]चसूपचारं ॥ [८ ॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टौदव-
- 10 चाः [क्षिता]लो नगर[परि]व[दैर्ध्वं] लंबयन्दोईयेन[। शिरसि] कुलिश-
पातो वैरि[णां] वी[र]लक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपलं यस्य गात्रेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥*]-
- 11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[व]व[भ्यो] सार्धं शतेन रश्मि[लोभि] रसुच मुक्ति ।
पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीद्रकुंभमुक्ताफलेः [अ] ककुभोर्चति
- 12 [कर्ण]दे[वः] ॥ [१० ॥*] अयं [धाम] ये[यसो] वै[दधि]याव-
[लो]क[न्दः] स्वःसवंत्वा[] किरीटं । [व[त्त]द्वय]धो[] येन [कर्णा]-
वतीति प्रत्यठा[पि] अमात[ल]व[त्त]द्वयलो-
- 13 कः ॥ [११ ॥*] अ [जनि] क[लधुरी]णां स्वामिना तेन ज्ञा-
न्यजलनिधि[लक्ष्म्यां] श्रीमदा[वन्न]देव्यां । श[शभृदुदय]गङ्गाधुव[त्त]-
दुग्धाब्धि[ब्धि]वीचीम
- 14 ह च[रित]रमःश्रीः[श्री] य[शः]कर्ण[देवः] ॥ [१२ ॥*] [नप्पाळको]-
भूट[तुलपतापः] श्रीमद्वयकर्ण इति प्रतीतः । यप्पाहवेपूदनवैरि-
कंठ[कण्ठ]च्छेदा-

First Place.

[illegible]

- 15 स[पूर्णव ध]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३ ॥*] असावल्लणदेव्या श्रीनरसिंहनर-
श्वर । संवदन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सुपुत्रं सुतं ॥ [१४ ॥*]
उज्जैर्हरिस्थकशि-
- 16 पं प्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां विवु(वु)धसं[ह]तिषु प्रकुब्ज[न] । सौंदर्यसार-
विनिवारितमारगव्यं चित्तं तदाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*]
- 17 तस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः शौर्योज्ज्वलैरपि नृपाः क्रियमाणसेवः ।
यहामनुमयग्रमेव सुरदुर्मेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-
- 18 तले व(व)लिना प्रलीनं ॥ [१६ ॥*] नष्टं गुर्जरभूभुजा भुजव(व)लं सुतं
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कृतलशासकेन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । युवा
- 19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संचामादपरंप्रपास्य जगतीं पारं ययु-
व्वारिधेः ॥ [१७ ॥*] परमभट्टारक-
- 20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

Second Plate, first side.

- 21 श्वर चिकित्साधिपति निजभुजोपाज्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजचयाधि-
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-
- 2 नः ॥ महाराज्ञो श्री केवल्लणदेवो । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्री-
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्मप्रधान
- 23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानाथलेखि ठकुर^१ श्रीदशमूलिक । साधि-
विप्रहिक ठकुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥
- 24 दुष्टसाध्व श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । अक्षपटलिक । प्रमत्तधार ।
चक्रसाधनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्वाद्य प्रदास्यमा-
- 25 न यामनिवासि जनपदांवाह्य यथाहं मानयन्ति वो(वो)धयति समाम्नापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ८१८ चार्ति-
- 26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्या श्रीमघवणे रेवायां
विधिवत्कृत्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापितृ-
- 27 रामनय पुण्ययोगिहृदये चण्डरौदसमीपे अग्रा यामः स्वसोमापयंतश्चतुरा-
ष्टादशिविग्रहः सगोप्रचारः ।
- 28 सजलस्थानः सास्त्रमधूकः सन्तवचाकरः सगर्तोपरः सनिर्मासप्रवेशः सजाह्न-
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्दिष्टोद्या-
- 29 नखणादिमन्त्रितः सनदीपर्वतः भागकरः प्रवणिवाड चरो रसवती कामत
विसेणिमादाय पङ्क्तिमादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

^१ The name of Vatsaraja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsaraja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 49 of the text.

- 30 य विविधादाद्यादिकृत कश्चिन्माणादायेः सह अयस्सगोत्राय विप्रवराय
पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेवराज-
31 शर्माणे ब्राह्मणाद्योदकपूर्वकत्वेन शासनीक्य पदतः ॥ अथ चाभ्यर्थना
दातुर्भवति यथा ॥ सर्वान्निताग्माविनः पादिवे-
32 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो वाचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मोत्तुर्(रु)पाणां
काले काले पालनीयो भवति ॥ [१८ ॥^१] अथ भूमिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
राज-
33 मिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा(भूमि)स्य स्य तदा फलं ॥ १८ ॥^१
सुतर्धमेकं नामिकां भूमिरप्येकमहुतं । हरचरकमाप्नोति याव-
34 दामृतं ॥ [२० ॥^१] तदागानां सङ्गमेन अश्वमेधगतेन च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न युध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥^१] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरत व-
35 सुन्दरा । स विद्यायां क्षमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥^१]
पतिं पर्वमहमाणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च
तान्ये-
36 च नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥^१] वारिहीतिश्वरस्त्रेषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
कृष्णसर्पास्तु जायन्ते देवव्रत्रास्त्रहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥^१] अन्त्यायेन
37 हता भूमिरन्त्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्वासममं
कुलं ॥ [२५ ॥^१] भूमिं यः पतियद्वाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-
38 ति । उभो तौ पुण्यकर्मणो नियतं स्वर्गमाप्नुयौ ॥ [२६ ॥^१]
शंखो भद्रासनं [च] वराखा वरवारणा [१] भूमिदानस्य विद्या-
39 नि फलमेतत्पुर्दर ॥ [२७ ॥^१] अस्मिन्वंशे पश्चिमीणि यः कश्चिदुपति-
भवेत् । तस्मात्तं हस्तसन्मोक्ष शासनं न व्यतिक्रमत् ॥ [२८ ॥^१]
40 अभ्युदयस्य पीपेण श्रीमद्वेणु सूनूना । लिखितं वस्तराजिन चेदोग-
दशसूनिता ॥ [२८ ॥^१] महत्त्वं ॥ महायोः ॥

Second Plate, second side.

- 41 सिद्धम् [१] अस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेववृषतेः येयोर्ध्वं प्रीत्यन्पूरुषः मोत-
मरीचिर्चिततमैरभ्यर्चितः सहस्रैः । विद्याः
42 कंदलपक्षमांसि दलयस्त्रिं पतिर्वस्वनां भूयादुतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां दाचोयसे
राघवः ॥ [३० ॥^१]
43 श्रीकोकासुवर्णपाल्मसुतकूपकारतात्त्विकेनोत्कीर्णं ॥

^१ Expressed by symbol as in L. 1 above.

No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at Nālandā in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No. VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Manvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., Officiating Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19½" by 8½" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ½". The characters are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palaeographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nāyapāla (cir. 1030 A.D.)¹ and the Bodhi-Gayā inscription of Jayachandra (cir. 1183 A.D.).² The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādihara in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, i.e., 1137 A.D.³ The inscription, although not dated, may, therefore, be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Om namō Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *prasaśī* (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named Vipulaśrimitra. It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named Karuṇāśrimitra of Sōmapura, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of Vaṅgāla (V. 2). His disciple was Maitrīśrimitra (V. 3) whose disciple again was Aśokaśrimitra (V. 4) and Aśokaśrimitra's (disciple) was Vipulaśrimitra (V. 5). Vipulaśrimitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjushā*) at a temple of the god Kṣaṁrppaṇa, for the *Prājñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Pitāmaha* (i.e. Buddha) at Chōyaṇḍaka, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (i.e. Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at Harshapura (V. 7). At Sōmapura, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the Mitrās (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose debris the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by Kanakaśrī and Vasiṣṭha, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the geographical terms mentioned in the record, Chōyaṇḍaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. Sōmapura is identical

¹ *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pls. XXV and XXVI.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V (1929), p. 13.

³ *Asia*, Vol. II, p. 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *Śrī-Sōmapurī Śrī-Dharmapālādēva-mahārāṣṭrā*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings¹ discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at Pāhārpur in the Rājshahi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodhi-Gayā inscription² mentions the *mahā-vihāra* or 'the Great Monastery' of Sōmapura. In Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*³ it is stated that King Dēvapāla, the son of Dharmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at 'Sōmapura'; and, according to the *Pag-sam-gon-sung*,⁴ the same king built the Great Monastery of 'Sōmapurī' after his conquest of Varāṇsī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmapāla, and not to his son.⁵ Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, e.g., the *Dharmakīrtiparīṭhi* and the *Madhyamakavatīpāraṇī*.⁶ The latter was translated by the great scholar Dipankara Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Virasūchita and Jayasīla at the Sōmapurī-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipakṣimitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid here at Pāhārpur. Vaṭgāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirmatāla inscription of Rājendrachōḍa I⁷ and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Dakṣiṇā*.⁸

TEXT.

[Metres:—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Mandākrāntā; v. 4, Sūkharipi; v. 5, Mālini; vv. 6, 11, Vasantallakā; v. 7, Indrayajrā; v. 9, Ūpajai; v. 13, Anubhūṭik.]

- 1 Ōm* namō Buddhāya Astu svastayatanā vaḥ sa bhagavān Śrī-Dharmachakrah kiyad-yan-nāma hratarān-Bhavad-āthra-vapur=anīvam=ūttāmyati | tatra Śrīghana-āśan-āṃṣita-rasulī sūlābhya
- 2 Bauddhō padō tam dhōyāt-apunarbhavaḥ bhagavati Rātā jama-tāriṇi || [1*] Śrīmat-Sōmapurē vaḥ||[5]va Karuṇāśrīmitra-nāma yatib kīrtayāt-guṇa-sampadō hita-sukh-ādīnām-āpi prāpi.
- 3 nām yō Vaṅgāla-balaḥ-upētra dahanā-kahēpā]=pralasy-ālayā carāṅgnā-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalā Buddhāya yātō divanā || [2*] Tasy-āchāhāra-vrata-parichitasy-śelita-mōḍa-kīrtā sūchyā-dhānyah
- 4 sūkrta-ghaṭiṇō buddhimān buddhimāta Matrīśrī-ity-uparī viditō mitra-vat || [3*] Mitra-nāmā [as]vāsy-ārtthē svam-udayam-upādītau=ulāhayan yah || [2*] Prādīhyō-py-ānvishy-ātraya-

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, A. S. I., 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

² *Mon. A. S. B.*, A. S. I., 1908-9, p. 158; and Majumdar, *Sikhya-Purāṇa-Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1923, B. S., p. 71.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IV, p. 205.

⁴ *Ed. Sarat Ch. Das*, pp. 111 and 116.

⁵ (It is possible that Dēvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.)

⁶ *Cordier, Catalogue de Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 166 and Part III, p. 226.

⁷ *Arch.*, Vol. IX, p. 223.

⁸ H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 22.

* Expressed by a symbol.

¹ Read -mā-Māra-

१ नमो वक्ष्यामि ॥ अत्रैव श्रुत्वा यथावदुक्तं मनसो वक्ष्यामि ॥ अत्रैव श्रुत्वा यथावदुक्तं मनसो वक्ष्यामि ॥ अत्रैव श्रुत्वा यथावदुक्तं मनसो वक्ष्यामि ॥
 २ वाङ्मयश्च नैव दद्यात् यत्नं नैव न गतं नो नाशकं गन्तव्यं ॥ श्रीमत्पद्ममयश्च नैव कुरुणा श्रीमन्नुनामायानि ॥ काकुणाङ्गणमंयदादिनमखातानादयियाणि ॥
 ३ नो ॥ आतञ्जालवर्तकयथाददनाकेयाङ्गलन्यालयमंलश्वरणावतिव्यगल्लवृद्धश्यानादिवा ॥ नम्यान्निवृत्तयविविचिनम्याविनम्यावकी ॥ त्रुष्टमिच्छा ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 ४ मन्त्रनयानि नावद्विमानवद्विमन्त्राग्निनीश्रीविद्यायविविदिनामिन्वत्तमिन्वनामी ॥ मत्तम्यात्तममदयमयादित्मकत्मादतानय ॥ यमिच्छायाविद्यामया
 ५ मलनमार्गेविविद्यागिर्वतो नः ॥ मंश्रिष्ठाया निरमलशीलः ॥ ममनतना ॥ आशाकश्रीमि ॥ शौचमममदयमयादित्मकत्मादतानय ॥ यमिच्छायाविद्यामया
 ६ नो ॥ नदवचवियलश्रीमिन्वत्तमिन्वनामी ॥ द्वियलविमलकी ॥ त्रिः ॥ मङ्गलानथक ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 ७ कृष्णश्रीवा ॥ श्रीमत्त्वमयाणमदायनययमत्तानमङ्गययाविदिनयाङ्गनो ॥ द्विनावा ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 ८ यथा ॥ यथायणुकमश्रियनामदम्यवीदाविकायां नवकश्चाचिनुः ॥ दद्यानिवा ॥ मयचयचङ्गिनम्यदीयङ्गवयायनिमांवावना ॥ अश्रुयममदानम्यानिङ्गय
 ९ नानिमूलममालिनुं नाविण्णानवन्वावन्मयकनी ॥ मालङ्गदालं कृनि ॥ श्रीमत्पद्ममयश्च नैव कुरुणा श्रीमन्नुनामायानि ॥ काकुणाङ्गणमंयदादिनमखातानादयियाणि ॥
 १० नैवैकविश्रामतः ॥ अदन्तदमानवणं विचिनुं वक्ष्यामि वा ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 ११ नविद्वाविकाङ्गनवनालकावन्नानवा ॥ मिन्वत्तमिन्वनामी ॥ द्वियलविमलकी ॥ त्रिः ॥ मङ्गलानथक ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 १२ अक्षवा ॥ मनिताममविङ्गनना ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 १३ वमतामवत्रोयावत्तममृत्वा ॥ निनमं ॥ कववयनिङ्गाननत्रकी ॥ त्रिविती ॥ मयानिविचिता ॥ आशि ॥ मममालिनेयणं ॥ यङ्गवना ॥ नालवृत्तनाया ॥ नैयविनुं म
 १४ मा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥ अमृतेन गयकलानि ॥ कालिनाप्रसथासः ॥ मननमयाविनश्री ॥ २ वृष्टा ॥
 श्रीवमिच्छावायममिच्छाविकावकी ॥

१४A

- 5 m-*algbhamānair-iva* *gūṇair-aśhīṭaḥ* *saṃślīṣṭṣ* *yatir-anala-ślīḥ* *saṃabhavat* |
Asōkaśrimitrō *gūṇa-saṃudayō* *yasya* *hrīdayō* *sahasrair-aśhīṣṭbhiḥ* *prativasati*
Sarībuddha-jana-
- 6 -*ū* || [4*] *Tad-ann* *cha* **Vipulaśrimitra** *ity-āvirāsīd-vipula-vimala-kīrtiḥ*
saḥ-jan-ānanda-kandaḥ | *aṃṣitamāya-kalābhiḥ* *kṣāṇit-āśōcha-dōshaḥ* *astatam-upa-*
chita-śrīḥ *śukla-pa-*
- 7 *kāś* *śaś-iva* || [5*] *Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatane* *prayatnāt*¹ *maḥjūshayā*
vihitayā *jananī* *Jinānām* | *yēna* *bhramaty-aviratam* *pratināś=chataśaḥ*
antireṣhu *parvvaṇi* *samarppayati* *ama*
- 8 *yaś=cha* || [6*] **Chōyapṇakō** *yaś=cha* *Pitāmahaṃ* *vihārikāyāni* *mva-*
karmma *chūtram* | **Harṣ-ābhīdhanō** *cha* **purō** *Jinaya* *Dipaṅkaraṃ*
pratināś vyadhata || [7*] *Aśhītau* *yaś=cha* *mahā-bhūyāni* *jaga-*
- 9 *tāḥ* *nirmālam=umūlitaṃ* *Tāriyā* *bhavanam* *vyadhata* *aukṛtī* *śāla-hrad-*
ślāṣkṛtīm | *Śrīmat-Sōmapurō* *chaturaha* *layanēshv-antar-vahūḥ-khaṇḍayō=yaś-*
ch=ślūhata *navina-karmma* *jagatām*
- 10 *nātr-atka-viārāma-bhūḥ* || [8*] *Adatta* *bhūm-ābharaṇam* *viśhītram* *Buddhāya*
bōdhau *janatām* *vidhātām* | *ity-ādī-puṇya-kriyayā* *na* *kālāḥ* *vaś-iva* *dir-*
gham *nayati* *ama* *tatra* || [9*] *Kṛtvā* *tē-*
- 11 *na* *vihārikā* *kṛtāvataś-lakṣṇa-bhūtā* *bhūyō* **Mitrābhyō=** *dhuta-Vaijayanta-*
jayini *datt=vyara=umūlāt* | *yasyām* *viṃpitāś=mirāśa-rasikāḥ* *Śātā* *tri-*
lākṣi-patīḥ
- 12 *Buddhāvāsa-nivāsam-ārthi-janatā-duḥsaśchara-prāntasam* || [10*] *Harṣam* *Harḥ*
padam-iv-ājani *tatra* *tatra* *kīrti=yayā* *vasumatī* *kṛta-bhūṣaṇā* *bhūḥ* |
tāvach-chīrṣṭi *jayati* *nō-*
- 13 *tra-sudhā* *stāvanti* *yāvat=samjāhyati* *na* *Mahjurava-pratijñā* || [11*] *Tat-*
tat-kīrti-vidhau *ambā-nidhir=iv-āmbhōdihau* *saṃumūlitaḥ* *puṇyāni* *yad=*
bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātram *pavitram* *mā-*
- 14 *ma* | *astu* *prastuta-vyastavat* *kam-taś* *paśyanti* *viśvāḥ* *Jinā* *yatr-āśma-*
padō *athitāś=tri-jagatām* *tat-prāptayō* *taśch-chīram* || [12*] *Tarkha-śilpa-prasaṅgē*
yau *dhūvatō* *jagatām* *hṛdē* | **Kanaka-**
- 15 **Śrīr-Vaśiṣṭhō** *vā* *prastatī-vyakti-kāśakau* || [13*]

TRANSLATION.

Om : Adoration to the Buddha !

(Verse 1). May the divine and illustrious Dharma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless : thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrīghana (i.e., Buddha),* may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha.

(Verse 2). In the illustrious Sōmapura there was the ascetic Karuṇāśrimitra, so called on account of his compassionate disposition¹, abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

¹ Read *pragatāḥ=umūlāḥ*.

² For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. Man. in A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 55.

³ The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, i.e., *karuṇā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitra* (benevolence) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings; who, when his house was burning, (being) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vaṣṭāla**, attached (himself) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (and) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Matrīśrīmītra**. He was invincible (in argument), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,¹ like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of **Karuṇārīmītra**) was the ascetic **Aśokaśrīmītra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand² (verses).

(Verse 5). After him there came **Vipulārīmītra** of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (of the month), washing away (i.e., brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits (or who wiped away all blemishes by (his knowledge of) the elegant arts).

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious **Khasarppa** (i.e., **Avalokiteśvara**), the mother of the Jinās (i.e., **Prajāpāramitā**) incessantly moves about.³ He also presented in the alms-house⁴ four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of **Pitāmaka**⁵ (i.e., Buddha) at **Chōyapṛaka**, and (installed) an image of the Jina **Dīpaṅkara** at **Harshapura**.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Right Great Fears⁶ of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of **Tārī** (i.e., **Tārā**) adorned with

¹ There seems to be a pun on the words *mītra* and *vāya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

² The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Aśokaśrīmītra Prajāpāramitā*. The goddess *Prajāpāramitā* is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', e.g., in *Aśokaśrīmītra* (Bib. Ind.), p. 329. She is often identified with *Tārā*, e.g., in verse 2 of the inscription of *Chāṇakya Vikramāditya VI* (Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 185). That is why *Tārā* is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

³ The casket offered by *Vipulārīmītra* at the temple of the god *Khasarppa* (who is the husband of *Tārā* or *Prajāpāramitā*) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (i.e., the manuscript); in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of *Khasarppa* stood.

⁴ For the use of *śāstra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 515 ff. The alms-house must have been those adjoining the temple.

⁵ The term *Pitāmaka*, which is usually applied to *Brahmā*, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of *Kaṇishka* on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another Kushān inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at Bhitṛ near Allahabad (*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C; Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94; Lüders, *List of Buddhist Inscriptions*, No. 910). The appellation *Pitāmaka* is suggestive of the idea of *Adi-Buddha* who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of *Brahmā*.

⁶ The goddess *Tārā* is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67; *Meas. A. S. L.*, No. 20, p. 18). In *Sarvasaṃhita's Śrōṭhara* also eight terrors are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, famine and disease. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to *Tārā* in an inscription of the *Chāṇakya* king *Vikramāditya VI* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the *Dachir Cave* at *Kanheri* (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 268, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells¹,—(a work) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

(Verse 9). He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in (the path of) Enlightenment, and there (i.e., at Sōmapura) (engaged) in such meritorious deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time.

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitrās.² The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (good) residences, forgot while here, (even) the abode in Suddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (His) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (exalted) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (viz., his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (i.e., Mañjughōṣa or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled.³

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (only) measure of comparison (with which is) the ethereal space, that may accrue to me⁴ out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place⁵ from which the Jinās (i.e., Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (as distinctly) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

(Verse 13). **Kanakaśrī** and **Vaśiṣṭha** who, (respectively) in the matter of dialectics and arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (this) eulogy (one by composing and the other by engraving it).

[P. S.—Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhiṛā at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A.D. in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found. This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulaśrimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription. The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas.—Ed.]

No. 17.—TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Coimbatore.

The inscription edited below comes from **Tiruchchendūr** in the Tinnevely District. Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No. 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

¹ [I should prefer to take *chaturāṣṭa layaṇāṁ* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery)'. Actually there are about 40 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]

² The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged.

³ In a work called the *Mañjuśrī-Buddha-kṣātra-guṇa-vyākha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhi-sattva' vow: "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings."—Pomata, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art. 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol. 8, p. 405 and n. 2. The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures. Cf. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (—Y(T) and *Avakāśhādharmaṇa dridha-pratijñā na pariprīṣṭa bhavati*, *arasa-sattva* *arasa-dvāṣṭāṣṭhaya* *parimāṇāḥ* *yāna* *anumādyāṁ* *saṁgha* *saṁbuddha* *na pratishṭhāpita bhavaṁ*, etc.

⁴ The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself.

⁵ This is *Sekhāvati*. Cf. *Śrāgadhara-stotra*, verse 37.

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *apayam* (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ayy* used in place of *aya*, "in all: together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ayy-kurattam*, "adding together or subtracting". *Niru* of *nir-avida* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*vervāil*) and areca-nuts (*maikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *dialectal* ('a dialectal word') in Tamil taken from Malayalam where it is still used in the sense of 'slaked lime'. A variant of this word is *niru* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *niru-pāṭu-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārayam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of 'a grain measure,' generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārdam*¹ denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārdagi*, generally spelt as *nārdagi*=the iron bolt. The restriction of the terms *nārdam* and *nārdagi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārdam* in the sense of 'molten lead or iron' indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārd* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārdam* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amar* explains it as *dharmayā bhūyā* (=an iron arrow). Childers explains *nārdam* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *nigadi* and *nigadi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *nigadam*, *nigadam* and *nigadam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nigam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguna-Mahārāja, is *tumi* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Saṅgam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbāṭṭaruppalai* occurs the phrase *puppai tumitu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *puppai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *lari tumikkayam porikkayam* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated: in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmanya-Bhujāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumālattāman*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguna-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,4th *kāṭu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, viz. Iruppaikkudi-kalavan, Śāttamperumāṇ and Aṭṭarūnāṭṭukkōṇ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for bath; plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *kāyam* for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kummadayam* and for porri; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender coconut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric, *pachai-kappuram* and sandal required for the anointing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kummadayam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

¹ In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. *Subrahmanya-nirāṭṭam* *vaṭṭam* (No. 106 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 326).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamil commentator Nachchinārkkinīyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbōṣāṅṟuppaḍai* states that the preparation called *puḷukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *puḷukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, viz. ¹*Mārgaḷi-Tiruvōḍirai*, *Māsi-Makkam* and *Vaiyāḷi-Viśākkam*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāṣu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *śrār* of Alambattam included in Gaḍamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Māgavīrapattinam, both situated in Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu; (2) the *sabha* of Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam in Śrīvallaḍha-vaḷanāḍu; (3) the *sabhas* of Tippi included in Paraḍumaṅgalam, Māyamaṅgalam and Teṭṭakku... llur, all situated in Perūntaka-vaḷanāḍu; (4) as well as the *sabhas* of Avanipaśścharamaṅgalam, in Amitagunya-vaḷanāḍu and Puḷiyūḷai, Kīraṅṭūr, Saḍaṅgavikūṇichchi and Kaḍuṅḡōmaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḍanāḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāṣu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *śrār* and the *sabhaiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *pattinam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "śrār" and "sabha" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity as default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli viṇṇimadī-nāṇayam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kuṟuṇi* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* 15 *kuṟuṇi*, the ordinary *kuṟuṇi* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāḷi* and a *kalam* of 12 *kuṟuṇi*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāḷi*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 8 *nāḷi* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *palikai kuḍuppadina oru-nāḷi-kkālāi*.

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāṣu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāṣu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

¹ (These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrṣa, Māgha and Vaiśākhā respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārūr, Maghā and Viśākhā respectively.—Ed.)

² No. 185 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāṣu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, viz. 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḷi* of *kāṇṇu*, 1,220 *parṇu* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāḷi* of flowers, 15 *kaḷaṣṭu* of *karṇūraṁ* or 112 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.¹

Ancient Tamil works of the *Saṅgama* period mention *kāṣu*, *kāṇṇu* and *poṇ* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāṣu* was represented by a *poṇ* or *kāṇṇu*. Nachohinārkkīyār in his commentary on *Jivakacintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇṇu* means a *poṇ-kāṣu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *poṇ* or a gold *kāṣu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇṇu* and *poṇ* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāṣu*. This ratio between a *poṇ* and a *kāṣu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāṣu* and 5 *poṇ* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣu*. Now applying this value of a *poṇ* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *karuṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *karuṇi* contained 6 *nāḷi*, and that a *nāḷi* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāḷi* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāḷi* of flowers for one *kāṣu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḷakku* and that 1 *uḷakku* was made up of 2 *āḷakku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *bali*-offerings at 2 *nāḷi* per day, (2) 4 *avas* of cloth at 3½ *avas* per *kāṣu* and (3) 8 *avas* of cloth at 2 *avas* per *kāṣu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇṇu* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāṣu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāṣu*). Since 26/10 *kāṣu* = 26 *kāṇṇu*, 1 *kāṣu* was equal to 10 *kāṇṇu*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḷaṣṭu* equalled 10 *kāṇṇu* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :—

Money.

10 *poṇ* or 10 *kāṇṇu* = 1 *kāṣu*.

Weight.

10 *kāṇṇu* = 1 *kaḷaṣṭu*.
100 *palam* = 1 *tulām*.

Measure.

10 *āḷaṅṇu* or 2 *āḷakku* = 1 *uḷakku*.
2 *uḷakku* = 1 *uri*.
2 *uri* = 1 *nāḷi*.
6 *nāḷi* = 1 *karuṇi*.
15 *karuṇi* = 1 *kalam*.

Number.

4 *āḷakku* = 1 *parṇu*.

¹ See lines 39 B., 50 C., 110 F., 122 and 107 of the Text given below.

15

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna-Mahārāja (II). The date portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the year opposite is found to be thirteen. In the seventh line, the day of the regnal year of the king is given as 5001 in words which yields 13 years of 365 days and 258 days. We may take the days as referring to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal year. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 502, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned year and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguna, this record must be ascribed. The Vatteluttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varagunas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palaeographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguna II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu, Kaṇḍuḡomaṇḍalam, Māraṇḍalam, Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu, Varaguna-ṇaṇḍalam, and Srivallabha-vaṇaṇḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Palyāga-sālai-Mudunḍuṇi-Peru-Vajudi, Kaṇḍuḡō, Māraṇḍan (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neḍuṇḍaḍaiyan and Srivara), Varaguna-Mahārāja (I) and Srivallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaṣṭharaṇḍalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaṣṭhara is identical with Srivallabha, the son and successor of Varaguna-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Srivallabha-vaṇaṇḍu and Avanipaṣṭhara-ṇaṇḍalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguna I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguna II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874, that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Irappaikkudi-kiṭṭavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguna-Mahārāja through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *ṛṭṭu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Eṭṭi Sāṭṭaṭ from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukaṇḍuṭṭi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Irappaikkudi-kiṭṭavan by king Srivallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

We know of no other Valudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peruvajudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram¹ record of Varaguna-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, viz. two *kalam* of paddy for one *biṭa*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāḷi* and a *ḷeyuṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāḷi*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (e.g. vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 250 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A—Ambāsamudram. T—Tiruchchendūr).

1.	1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,000 plantains for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
2.	30 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3.	3 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4.	1 <i>palam</i> of sugar was obtained for 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>uri</i> of paddy	A
	7 <i>tulām</i> and 65 <i>palam</i> for 10 <i>kalam</i>	T
5.	10 <i>palam</i> of vegetables cost 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy	A
	20 <i>tulām</i> of vegetables cost 10 <i>kalam</i> of paddy	T
6.	6 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 <i>ṣakku</i> of <i>ḷeyuṇi</i>	A
	1 <i>kāṇi</i> (10 <i>kalam</i>) fetched 60 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>ḷeyuṇi</i>	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevely District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Srīvaikunṭham on the sea.² Korkai and Māraṇaṅgalam are in the Srīvaikunṭam taluk and Nallūr and Kattāraṇaṅgalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*³ and Ptolemy⁴ mention it, the former under the name of Koīchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewall states⁵ that Māraṇaṅgalam is the

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 80.

² Sewall's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

³ Schott's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

⁴ Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 77-8, 78.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuṇḍa-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkūṭāḷ (No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korkai and had in it Akkūṭāḷ-ṭeyaramudaiyār. It is further stated that Korkai was surmounted Maṭṭhuckatakanallūr and that it was in Kuṇḍa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uṭṭa maṭṭā-vaṭṭanāḍu which was a district of Bāḷackka-ṭṭoḍināḍu.

TEXT.

First slab; First face.

- 1 Sri Kō Varaguna-Mārāyarku yāṇḍu
 2 daṇ-eḷir paḍiṇ-mūḍu ivv-āṇḍu Tira-
 3 Suppiramaṇ(g)iya-Baṭṭārar-upāsaiyā-
 4 . Iya Tirumūlattānattu-ppat[ā]rarkku mudal-keḷāmai-ppoliṭṭi¹ ā-
 5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga nūṭivār-aḍiyār-āṇḍu² Varaguna-Mārāyar pō-
 6 ttara Iruppaikkūḍi-kīḷavaṇṇu Sāttamperumāṇu Alarṭṭ[^r][nā].
 7 iṭṭu-kkōḍuṇi aiyāṭṭi³-oṇṭā-nāḷ-koṇḍu-vanda nīṭai-kurāiyā-ppa-
 8 laṇ-kāṇu āṭṭattu⁴-nā-oḷu [i^{*}] i-kkāl-kuḍu-nāṭṭu-kKoṭṭai-ārār kaḷi⁵
 9 mudal-keḷāmai-¹ppoliṭṭu-kkōḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaiṭṭa nīṭai-
 10 kurāiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṇu tonṭūrr-ā[ra] poṇṇ-²iṭṭu [i^{*}] i-kkāl oru-kā-
 11 ṭukku āḍḍuvārai poḷi nīṭai-madi-nārāyattāl iṭṭu-kala-nell-āga va-
 12 nda nellu mūṭru-ttonṭūrru-mukkalaṇḍey oṇḍaḍi kurāṇi [i^{*}] i-o-
 13 nellāl niyadippaḍi iṭṭu[^r][ga] koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḷavaṇṇu [i^{*}] nāḷ
 14 aṭṭiḷḷu mu-nnāḷi nell-āga-ttīruv-amidiṇḍu aṭṭi[^r] eṇṇar-ṭi-
 15 ṭal oru-pōḍaiḷḷu nā-oḷi-āga nāṇḍu pōḍaiḷḷu aṭṭi eṇṇar-ṭi-
 16 i paḍiṇ-aru-nāḷ [i^{*}] Mārgaḷi-Tiruvādirai⁶-Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāḷi-
 17 Viyākamum paḍi irāṭṭi śeluttuvadu [i^{*}] i-ppaṭṭu śeluttuḷḷu ku-
 18 ṭṭaḷḷu-paḍi i-ttāvarikēy iṭṭu-āḷiḷḷu kāṇu daḍḍamum pa-
 19 iṭṭu-eheluttāḍu viṭṭa mudal-irāṭṭiyāḷ-kūṭṭuppaḷu [i^{*}] i-nāṭṭu Na[¹]-
 20 lūr-ārār kaḷi⁷ mēṭṭaḍi⁸ pōḷiṭṭi-āga vaiṭṭa nīṭai-kurāiyā-ppala-
 21 ā-kāṇu nūṭṭu-aruḷatt-eṭṭum poṇ[⁹-āḍḍu]-kāl [i^{*}] i-kkāl-āḍḍuvārai poḷi-
 22 nellu nīṭai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nūṭru-muppatt-eḷu-kalaṇḍey mu-¹⁰kku-
 23 ruṇi nā-oḷi urī [i^{*}] i-nellāl niyadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṇḍu iṭṭu[^r][ga]-
 24 i koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḷavaṇṇu nāḷi neyy-amidiṇḍu irupāḍi-
 25 [ṭāḷi] nell-āga-ttīruv-amidu nīṭṭiḷḷu-ppaḷuvu-ṇaru-ney oru-
 26 pōḍaiḷḷu eḷakk-āḍḍum [i^{*}] kari tūṭikkavum porikkavum oru-pōḍaiḷḷu ā-
 27 ṭikk-āḍḍum [i^{*}] nāṇḍu-pōḍaiḷḷu neyy-amidu nāḷi urī [i^{*}] nāḷi-ttair¹¹ a-
 28 miduṇḍu iṭṭu-nāḷi nell-āga-ttīruv-amidu nīṭṭiḷḷu-ttair¹²-amidu
 29 oru-pōḍaiḷḷu nāḷi-āḍḍum kōṭṭuḷḷu-ttair¹³-amidu oru-pōḍaiḷḷu u-
 30 ri-āḍḍum nāṇḍu-pōḍaiḷḷu-ppaḷuvu-ṇōy-taḷ¹⁴ aṇi-nāḷi [i^{*}] oru-kāṇ-
 31 ku nīṭai-madi-nārāyattāṭ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-āḍḍum-āga [i^{*}] āṭṭam¹⁵
 32 vāḷai-ppaḷattiyuḷḷu oru-kāṇ-āḍḍum [i^{*}] eḷu-tuḷatt-aruḷatt-aiṇḍa-
 33 la-ehaṭṭaṭṭaṭṭu oru-kāṇ-āḍḍum [i^{*}] irupāḍi-tuḷḷu kari-amidiṇḍu
 34 oru-kāṇ-āḍḍum [i^{*}] aṇṭaḷḷu-nāḷi kōṭṭuḷḷu oru-kāṇ-āḍḍum
 35 aḷḷam-āga [i^{*}] i-ttīruv-amidu nīṭṭiḷḷu vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu o-
 36 ru-pōḍaiḷḷu nāṇḍu-āga nāṇḍu-pōḍaiḷḷu-ṭṭaṭṭu-vāḷai-ppaḷa-amidu pa-
 37 ḍi-āḍḍu [i^{*}] eḷaṭṭaṭṭu-amidu oru-pōḍaiḷḷu oru-paḷam-āga nāṇḍu-pōḷai-
 38 kku-ehaṭṭaṭṭu-amidu nāṇḍu-paḷam [i^{*}] kari-amidu kōṭṭu-kkaṭi oḷu pu-
 39 ṭi-ṇari oḷu paḷuḷḷu-kkari oḷu porī-kkari oḷu eṭṭi¹⁶-
 40 kkaṭi-amidu nāṇḍuḷḷu oru-pōḍaiḷḷu [p]aḷu-¹⁷[paḷam-āḷḷa¹⁸] nāḷ.

¹ Read pōḷiṭṭi.² Read āṇḍu.³ Read āṇḍu.⁴ Read āṇḍu.⁵ After 771, the letters kō seem to have been engraved and erased.⁶ The phrase pōḍu-paḷam-āga is a correction from kōṭṭu-amidu.⁷ Read āṇḍu.⁸ Read āṇḍu.⁹ Read āṇḍu.¹⁰ Read āṇḍu.¹¹ Read āṇḍu-āṇḍu.¹² Read āṇḍu.¹³ Read āṇḍu.¹⁴ Read āṇḍu.

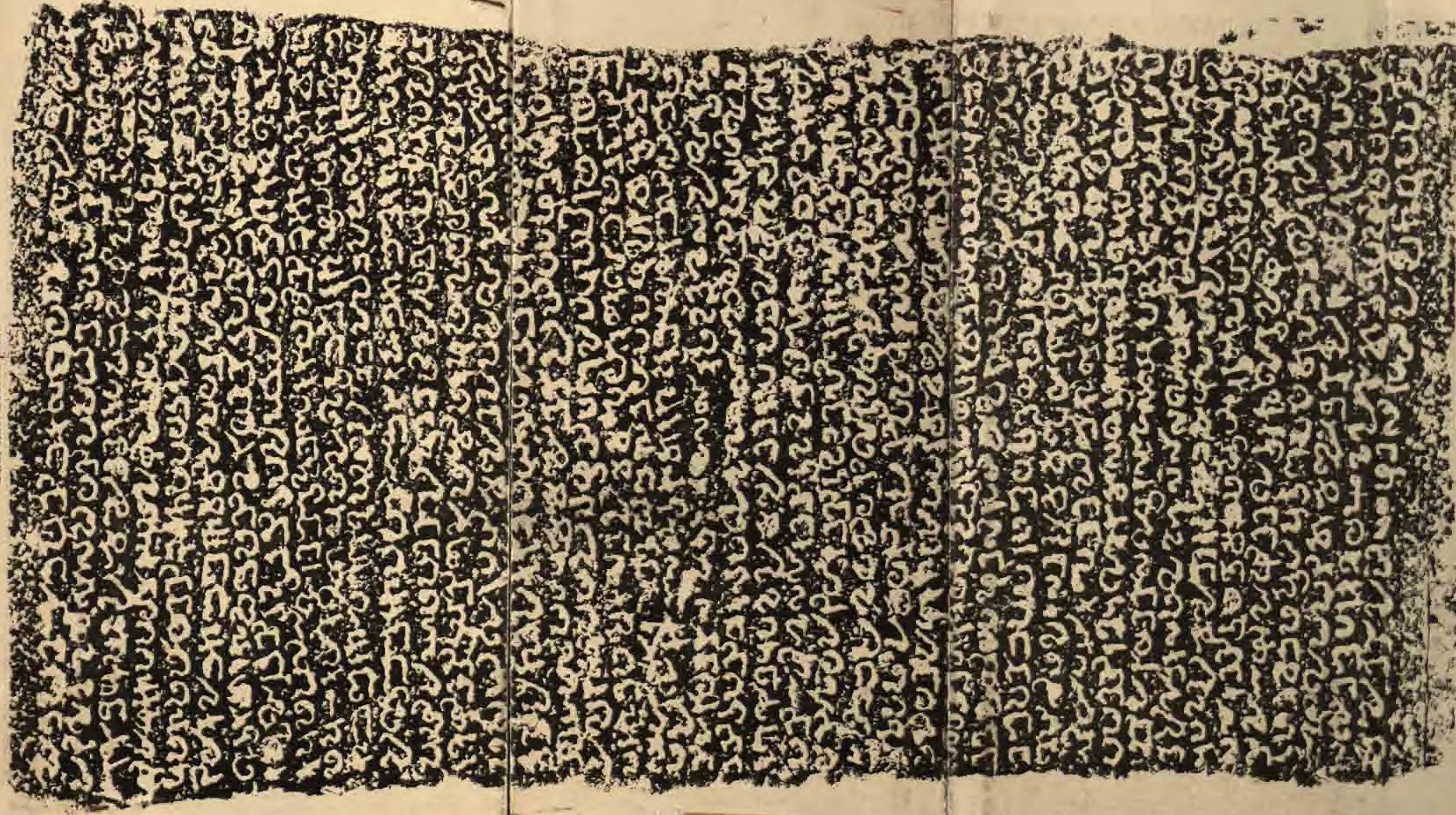
41. gu-pōlaikkū-kkai-amiḍu nāpadiy-palam [i*] kāyam mū[ga-amiḍu]
 42. māṇja-amiḍu ārika-amiḍu āru-kaṇṇu-amiḍu kottamha[ri-amiḍu]
 43. āṇi-kkāyam aindu [i*] ivai oru-pōlaikkū mu-checheviṭṭ-āga nāṇṇu-pō-
 44. daikkū-kkāyam uḷakkē iru-ēviṭṭu [i*] Mā[ga]li-tTiruvāḷirai¹ Mā[li]-Maka-
 45. mum Vaiyyāḍi-Viyākamum pōdi iraiṭṭi seluttuvadu [i*] i-p[pa]-
 46. riḍu seluttādu kottukkāppa[ḍi] i-ttēvačkēy sinḥadu
 47. kōḍu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraiṭṭi²-ku-
 48. ḍuppadu [i*] i-nāṭṭu-chChālyattu-ārār kaṇṇ³ mēppadi
 49. poliṭṭ-āga⁴ valṭṭa nīrai-kurayā-p[pa]lā-kōḍu iruṭṭu-nā-
 50. ṇṇu poṇ aindēy-mukkāḷ [i*] i-kkōḷ oru-kāṇṇu āṇḍuva-
 51. rai poli nīrai-maḷi-nāṇṇu-irai iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nēḷu

First slab : Second face.

52. nāpatt-ṇṇu-badiy-kalaṇṇy iru-kuray nāḷi
 53. iri [i*] i-nnellāḷ nīyadippadi [ti]ruv-amiḍuṇṇu ivai[r*]ga-
 54. ga kōṇḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavaga [i*] nāḷi-pparuppuḷḷu nā-
 55. ḷi-ḷakku-ppayag-āgarum nāḷi-ppayagūḷḷu iru-nāḷi nell-āga-
 56. yum kumūḷṇuṭṭiṇṇu-ppayagru-pparuppu oru-pōlaikkū u-
 57. riy-āga nāṇṇu-pōlaikkū-chechiṇṇu-payatru-pparuppu iru-nāḷi [i*]
 58. oru-kāṇṇu nīrai-maḷi-nāṇṇu-irai-paḍi-kala-nell-āga-
 59. ga [i*] āṇṇu⁵ iru-nūṇṇu-irapada paṭṭu veṇṇiḷḷu oru-ḷāḷ-ā-
 60. yum [i*] pa[ḍi]ḷāṇṇu⁶ oru-nūṇṇu-āḷakkāy-amiḍuṇṇu oru-kāḷ-āgaru-
 61. m āḷam-āga [i*] āḷi-amiḍu oru-pōlaikkū mūṇṇu-āḷakk-āga nā-
 62. ḷi-pōlaikkū veḷḷai-amiḍu mūṇṇu paṭṭu āḷakkāy-āṇṇu-
 63. du oru-pōlaikkū-ppadiṇṇu-āga nāṇṇu-pōlaikkū āḷakkāy-
 64. amiḍu aṇṇu-āga [i*] nūṇṇu-amiḍu vōḍuvad-iḍuvadu [i*] Mā-
 65. rge[ga]li-tTiruvāḷirai¹ Mā[li]-Makamum Vaiyyāḍi-Viyākamu-
 66. m pōdi iraiṭṭi seluttuvadu [i*] i-ppariṇṇu selu-
 67. tṭādu kottukkāppa[ḍi] i-ttēva[r*]kkēy aindu kōḷu
 68. daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraiṭṭi-
 69. un⁷-[kōḷu]p[pa]ḷu [i*] Valḷi-valāṇṇu-ppiramaḷeyam
 70. Varagupamaṇḍalattu-chechavayāk[er]kai⁸ mēppadi po-
 71. liṭṭ-āga⁴ valṭṭa nīrai-kurayā-ppaḷā-kōḷu nūṇṇu-
 72. padu [i*] i-kkōḷ oru-kāṇṇu āṇḍuvagai poli nīrai-ma-
 73. ḷi-nāṇṇu-irai [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nēḷu iru-nū-
 74. ṇṇu-irubadiy-kalam [i*] i-nnellāḷ nīyadippadi ivai[r*]-
 75. ga kōṇḍu-vandu selutta-kkaḍavaga [i*] nāḷi-meyḷḷu iru-
 76. padu-nāḷi nell-āga-ttirn-nandā-viḷakku oṇṇuṇṇu [nī]-
 77. ra[ḍi] mey uṇṇu-āga-ttirn-nand[ā*]-viḷakku amiḍuṇṇu-ppa-
 78. [ṇṇu]m-naru-mey nīyadī iru-nāḷi iri [i*] aṇḍiyam-pōḍu
 79. [ti]ruv-amiḍu āyeyru dipa-mā[ḷi] kaṭṭa-[p]pāyuvig-paru-na-
 80. r nīyadī uḷakku [i*] i-ppa[ḷi]ṇṇu seluttādu kottukkāppa[ḍi]-
 81. i i-ttēva[r]kkēy paṇṇirāṇḍ-ārāi-kkōḷu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chehelu-
 82. tṭādu viṭṭa mudal-iraiṭṭi²-kuḷuppadu [i*] i-nāṭṭu-
 83. [i*]

¹ Read 'iraiṭṭi'.² Read 'iraiṭṭi'.³ Read 'yadu'.⁴ Read 'mīyam'.⁵ Read 'pōyāṇṇu'.⁶ Read 'pōyāṇṇu'.⁷ Read 'yadu'.⁸ Read 'yadu'.⁹ Read 'yadu'.

First slab: Second piece.



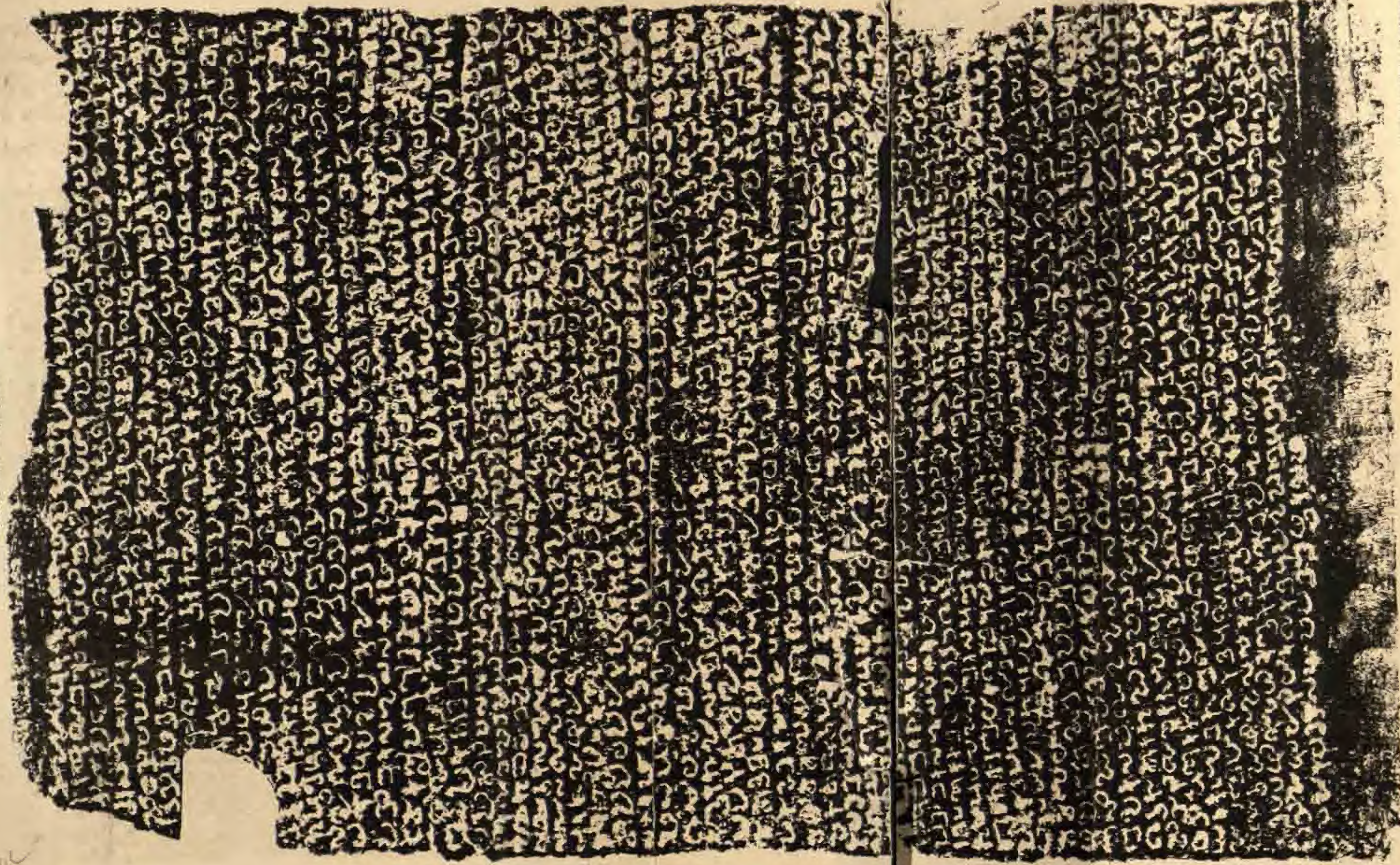
TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).
First slab: First piece.

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THIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).

SECOND SLAB: FIRST PIECE.



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The text on this slab is written in a cuneiform script, likely Akkadian, and is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is dense and consistent across the entire surface. The top edge of the slab is irregular and appears to be a fragment of a larger tablet. The bottom edge is also irregular, with some characters visible just below the main body of text. The overall condition of the slab is well-preserved, though there are some minor surface marks and a slight discoloration at the bottom.

- 125 gaḷukku nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṅḡ-muraikku veṇ-kūrai paḍiṇ-āṇ-āṇai [1*] i-
 126 ppariṇu śeluttādu kutukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy irupatt-aṇdu
 127 kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattīu¹-kudappadu [1*]
 128 Parāntaka-vaṇaṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam [Parai]Māraṇḍalaṭṭu-ṭṭeḷu-kilakku Ti-
 129 [uḷi]-chchavaiyār kaim² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 130 ā-kāṇu irubatt-aṇdu [1*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai poli nīrai-madi-nā-
 131 rāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aṇḍu-kalam i-nnellā-
 132 i iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaga [1*] nāli-ariakku mu-nāli nel-
 133 i-āga-ttiru-ppalikkū niyadī ariṇi ōmṇar-ṭṭṭal oru-pōḍaḷḷu nāliy-āga i-
 134 raṇḍu pōḍaḷḷu ariṇi ōmṇar-ṭṭṭal iru-nāli [1*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ
 135 paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-āga āri-maḍaippaḷi-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭṭikku-ppuḍavai iṇai i-
 136 raṇḍu-araḷ-kkāṇam perrāṇa oru-murai aṇu-tiṇḡaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu-mu-
 raik-
 137 ku-ppuḍavai nāl-aṇai [1*] kal-purāḷḷu-ppuḍavai iṇai irāṇḍu-kāṇam perrāṇa oru-
 murai mu-ttiṇ-
 138 gaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nā-ḡ-murai[k*]ku-ppuḍavai oṭṭ-aṇai [1*] i-ppariṇu
 śeluttādu kut-
 139 tukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aṇḍu-kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-cheheluttādu viṭṭa mūla-
 140 i-irattīu¹-kudappadu i-nṇāṭṭu-ppiramaḍōya[m*] Māraṇḍalaṭṭu-
 141 chchavaiyār kaim² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaṭṭa nīrai-kuraiyā-ppa-
 142 [aṇ-kāṇu nūṇ-āmbatt-irāṇḍu-araḷ [1*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍuvai
 143 poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nūṇ-
 144 r-aṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāḷ iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaga [1*]
 145 oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-āga [1*] āri-tūpam
 146 āḍāṇḍukku³ vēṇḍum uṇu[ppu¹] aḷi-uṭṭaḍa-kkārpūramu-tēnu[m] ni-
 147 yadi araḷ-kkāṇam vilai pōḍa iḍuvaiḷu [1*] āri-karṇakka-agaṭṭu-kkaṭṭu mēṇkaṭ-
 148 ṭṭikku veṇ-kūrai iṇai āḷ-araḷ-kkāṇam perrāṇa oru-murai āṇu-tiṇḡaḷukku
 149 nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu irāṇḍu muraikku veṇ-kūrai oṭṭ-aṇai [1*] nāli-ttair⁴-āṇḍiṇuk-
 150 ku iru-nāli nell-āga-ttiru-ppalikkū-ppaṇuvip-ṭōy-tair⁴ niyadī nāli [1*]
 151 taṭṭaḷi koṭṭiḡaḷukku-kkoṇṇu nēḷu-ttiṇḡaḷ [nāḷ-kala[ṇe]y paḍiṇ¹-ku-
 152 rai nāli uṇi-āga ōr-āṇḍu paṇṇirāṇḍu tiṇḡaḷukku vēṇḍum nellu nīrai-
 153 madi-nārāyattāḷ aṇḍu-kalam⁵

Second slab ; Second face.

- 154 i-nṇāṭṭu-ppiramaḍōyam Teppakku.
 155 nūṇ-chchavaiyār kaim² mērpāḍi *poliṭṭ-āga vaṭṭa nī-
 156 rai-kuraiyā-ppaṇ-kāṇu arupadu [1*] i-kkāṭṭāḷ oru-kāṇukku āṇḍu-
 157 vārai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu
 158 nūṇ-irupadiṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāḷ iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-
 159 kkaḍavaga [1*] oru-kāṇukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāḷ paḍiṇ-kala-nell-aḷḡam-ā-
 160 ga [1*] āri-uḍaiy-āḷai iṇai mūṇu-kāṇu perrāṇa oru-murai ma-ttiṇḡaḷukku

¹ Read "gaṇ-".

² Read āḍāṇḍukku.

³ Read tair-.

⁴ Read kōṇḍu.

⁵ The letters in brackets look like *ṭṭe*.

⁶ Read poliṭṭ-āga.

⁷ To make up the total of 57 letters in this item the word paḍiṇ ought to be paḍiṇ-oru.

⁸ There is some blank space in this line after *ir-aṇaiy-āga* and space for another line below, in which should have been inscribed the words *i-ppariṇu śeluttādu kutukkārpāḍi i-ttēvarkkōy aṇḍu kāṇu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-
 chchavaiyār kaim mērpāḍi*.

- 161 ō-aṇaiy-āga ō-āṇḍa nāṅgu-muṇaiṅku ōi-ūḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai [1*] i-p-
 162 pariṇu ōeluttadu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttōvarkkēy panni-
 163 raṇḍ-ārai-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattī-
 164 uō¹-kuḍuppadu [1*] Amitaṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Avai-
 165 paṭṭakaramaṇḍalattu=chehavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa
 166 nīrai-kurāiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu arupadu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuva-
 167 rai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iṇu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūṇṇ-iru-
 168 paḍiṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ōelutta-kka-
 169 ḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṇ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-ahgam-āga ōi-
 170 ōḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāṣu perrāga oru-muṇai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku ō-aṇaiy-ā-
 171 ga ō-āṇḍu nāṅgu-muṇaiṅku ōi-ūḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai i-ppariṇu ōeluttādu kut-
 172 tukkārpāḍi i-ttōvarkkēy panni-raṇḍ-ārai-kkāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttā-
 173 du viṭṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] Kuḍa-nāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Puḷu-
 174 ḍai=chehavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā-ppala-
 175 ṇ-kāṣu nūṇṇ-irupadu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāya-
 176 ttāl iṇu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli iṇu-nūṇṇu-nāṇḍiṇ-kalam i-nne-
 177 llāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ōelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nārāya-
 178 ttāl paḍiṇ-kala-nell-ahgam-āga ōi-ūḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṇṇu-kāṣu perrāga oru-
 179 muṇai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku ō-aṇaiy-āga ō-āṇḍu nāṅgu-muṇaiṅku ōi-ūḍaiy-āḍai [1*]
 180 ṭṭ-aṇai [1*] i-ppariṇu ōeluttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttōvarkkēy iṇubatt-
 181 t-aṇḍu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppa-
 182 du [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kīraṇṇu-chohavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poli-
 183 ūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā-ppalaṇ-kāṣu iṇu-nūṇṇ-ōrobattu-nāṅgu [1*] i-
 184 kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl iṇu-kala-nell-ā-
 185 ga vanda nelli nā-nūṇṇ-iṇubatt-ep-kalam i-nnellāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ niyadī-
 186 ppāḍi koṇḍu-vandu ōelutta-kkaḍavaṇa nāḷi-neykku iṇupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga
 187 tīrumanḍaṇam āḍi-arūḷu-ppaḍuvaiy-āṇu-ney niyadī nā-gāḷi [1*] oru-kāṣukku
 188 nīrai-madi-nārāyattāṇ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-ahgam-āga-ttālā-chehandagattu-
 189 kku oru-kāṣ-āga-ttīrumanḍi pūṇum sandaṇa-kkuḷamtu=chehandagam niyadī
 190 mu-ppalam [1*] i-ppariṇu ōeluttādu kuttukkārpāḍi i-ttōvarkkē-
 191 y aṇḍadu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-i-
 192 rattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Śaḍaṇḍavikkugāḷ-
 193 ch-chohavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā-ppalaṇ-kā-
 194 ṭu toṇṇūṇu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-madi-nārāyattāl
 195 iṇu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli nūṇṇ-epaḍiṇ-kalam [1*] i-nnellāl niyadī-
 196 pāḍi iṇa[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu ōelutta-kkaḍavaṇa [1*] oru-kāṣukku nīrai-madi-nā[rā]-
 197 yattāṇ-paḍiṇ-kala-nell-ahgam-āga-ppaḍiṇ-nāḷ-kalāṇḍu karpūratukku oṇṇu-
 198 kāṣ-āga-ttīrumanḍi-pūṇum-tīruchchandagattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum karpū-
 199 ram niyadī oḷ-ārai-kkāṇam [1*] i-ppariṇu ōeluttādu kuttukkārpāḍi
 200 i-ttōvarkkēy iṇubatt-aṇḍu-kāṣu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=cheheluttādu viṭ-
 201 ṭa mudal-irattīuō⁴-kuḍuppadu [1*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kaḍuṇḍōmaṇ-
 202 ḍalattu=chehavaiyār kaiṇ² mērpāḍi ³poliūṭṭ-āga vaiṭṭa nīrai-kurāiyā-
 203 ppaḷaṇ-kāṣu paḍiṇ-āṇu [1*] i-kkāṣāl oru-kāṣukku āṇḍuvarai poli nīrai-ma-
 204 di-nārāyattāl iṇu-kala-nell-āga vanda nelli muppatt-iṇu-kalam [1*] i-nne-
 205 llāl iṇa[r*]gaḷ niyadippāḍi koṇḍu-vandu ōelutta-kkaḍavaṇa ō-iḷaṇirukku

¹ Read *paṇu*.² Read *kaṇṇiṇ*.³ Read *poliūṭṭ-āga*.⁴ Read *irattīyū*.⁵ Read *Paṇṇi*.

No.	No. of Insa.	Division.	Name of village.	The body of persons with whom money was invested.	Amount invested.	
					Rais.	Pags.
1	8-19	Kudā-nāḍu . . .	Kerkal . . .	Urār . . .	96	8
2	10-48	Do. . . .	Nallūr	Do. . . .	168	6½
3	48-69	Do. . . .	Śāḍyam	Do. . . .	24	5½
4	69-82	Vajudi-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Varaṇṭamaṇḍalam . .	Sabhai . .	110	0
5	82-95	Do. . . .	Iravēḷḷimaṇḍalam in- cluded in Triyambaka- maṇḍalam.	Do. . . .	22	0
6	95-104	Do. . . .	Ālambattam included in Gāḍḍamaṇḍalam.	Urār . . .	16	0
7	104-114	Do. . . .	Mānavirapattinam . .	Nagarattar . .	120	0
8	114-127	Śrīvallabha-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Kattāḷamaṇḍalam . .	Sabhai . .	94	6
9	128-140	Parāntaka-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Tinnai included in Parānta- maṇḍalam.	Do. . . .	25	0
10	140-163	Do. . . .	Māraṇḍamaṇḍalam . .	Do. . . .	162½	..
11	164-164	Do. . . .	Tenrakku	Do. . . .	60	0
12	164-173	Amitaguna-vaṇaṇḍu . .	Avanipadāḍḍamaṇḍalam	Do. . . .	90	0
13	173-182	Kudā-nāḍu	Puliyāḷai	Do. . . .	120	0
14	182-192	Do. . . .	Kirapūr	Do. . . .	214	0
15	192-201	Do. . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavikuriccheḷi . .	Do. . . .	90	0
16	201-210	Do. . . .	Kaḍaṇḍamaṇḍalam . .	Do. . . .	16	0

INTEREST.					Object for which the interest was utilised.	Fine in case of default.
Rate per <i>kāṣa</i> .	AMOUNT.					
	<i>Katam</i>	<i>kurumi</i>	<i>nāḷi</i> .	<i>ari</i> .		
2 <i>Katam</i>	193	9	..	..	For supplying daily 16 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice on ordinary days and 96 <i>nāḷi</i> for 3 days in the year.	25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>ari</i> of ghee, 8 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd, 16 plantains, 4 <i>palam</i> of sugar, 40 <i>palam</i> of vegetables, 1 <i>uḷakku</i> and 2 <i>kuricu</i> of <i>kāṇam</i> and double this quantity for 3 days.	30 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	49	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of <i>payaru-paruṇṇa</i> for <i>kaṇṇuṇṇam</i> , 3 <i>puru</i> of betel leaves and 56 <i>unt</i> , together with double the above quantity for 3 days.	5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	229	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>ari</i> of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee for 1 chain of lamps.	12½ <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	64	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of cow's milk and 4 <i>nāḷi</i> of curd.	3 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	For supplying daily 8 tender coconuts.	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying daily 10 <i>nāḷi</i> of flowers.	25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	129	..	..	..	For supplying daily 1 <i>ari</i> of <i>puri</i> and 3 <i>uḷakku</i> of <i>maṇ-jai</i> and 16 <i>apai</i> of white cloth for the year.	Do.
Do.	50	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice for <i>baḷi</i> , and for four <i>apai</i> of <i>paṇṇai</i> at the rate of 2½ <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>apai</i> and 8 <i>apai</i> of <i>paṇṇai</i> at the rate of 2 <i>kāṇam</i> for 1 <i>apai</i> to be supplied during the year.	5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	305	..	..	..	For supplying daily incense at 1½ <i>kāṇam</i> , for 8 <i>apai</i> of white cloth at 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> each <i>apai</i> for 1 year, for curd at 2 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 <i>kāṣa</i> ; 10 <i>kuruci</i> 1 <i>nāḷi</i> and 1 <i>ari</i> per month or 57 <i>Katam</i> per year.	Omitted.
Do.	120	..	..	..	For supplying during the year 4 <i>apai</i> of <i>uḷai-uḷai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣa</i> per <i>apai</i> .	12½ <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	120	..	..	..	Ditto	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying 8 <i>apai</i> of <i>uḷai-uḷai</i> at 3 <i>kāṣa</i> per <i>apai</i> .	25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	426	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 <i>adit</i> of ghee for anointment, and 3 <i>palam</i> of sandal at 1 <i>in-lu</i> of sandal for 1 <i>kāṣa</i> .	50 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	180	..	..	..	For supplying daily 7½ <i>kāṇam</i> of <i>koṇṇam</i> (1 <i>kāṣa</i> touching 5 <i>koṇṇam</i>).	25 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	To supply daily 8 tender coconuts at 1 <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for 1 coconut.	5 <i>kāṣa</i> and double the quantity at default.

by the *Sandhivigrahādhipāṭika* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhāṭṭi.¹ The *Dātaka* was Khatagaha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvaritas* of land in the village of Bhadrāniyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthali were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvaritas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhāṇata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rūdra, to the north of the *daḍḍaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baratīkā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvaritas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece² of land (*baṇa*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhaukshaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, viz., bath (*snapanā*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mūlya*), lamp-oil (*dipa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādya-gīta*) and dances (*ṛitya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-sutra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭa-pratisamākāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, viz., *Dāvinaras* (l. 1), *Bhadrāniyaka* (ll. 19-20, 22), *Bāra-Vanasthali*³ (l. 22), *Baratīkā-daḍḍaka*⁴ (l. 23) and *Gōpparavāṭaka* (l. 23).

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm^{*} svasti [v] Vījaya-skandhāvārād-D[iv]īśarō-vāśakūt prasabha-prāpat-
āmitrāṇḍ[ī]ś[ī]^{*} Maitrakāgām-atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-
- 2 śakta-prabhāṇata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād-ann-
rakta-maula-bhṛita-ārēṇi-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-
- 3 rājya-ēriyaḥ parama-māhēśvara-ēri-Bhaṭa(tā)rkakād-avyavachchhinna-rāja-vanōśan-mātā-
pitri-charaṇ-āravinda-prāpati-pravidhant-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ
- 4 āś(śai)śavāt-prabhṛiti khadga-dvītya-bāhur-ēva samāda-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-
prakāśita-satva-nikāśha-tat-pratāva[†]-prana(pat)-ārāti-chūḍa(dā)-ra-
- 5 tna-prabhū-sajin^{*} śakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-samhātis-sakala-smṛitō(ti)-prapīta-mārgga-
samyak-paripālana-prajā-hridaya-raḍjan-ānu(r*)ttha-rāja-sabdalḥ
- 6 rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-saśpa(mpa)dbhis-Smara-saśānk-Ādrirāj-
ōdaḍhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanōśan-atiśayāna(l*) śaraṇ-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

¹ [This Vatrabhāṭṭi has also been called Vāśabhāṭṭi (No. 1341 of List) and Vāśabhata (No. 1342). The readings Vatrabhāṭṭi (No. 1337, *i.e.*, the present grant), Chandrabhāṭṭi (No. 1338) and Chatrabhāṭṭi (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhāṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, viz., Skandabhāṭṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhāṭṭi), Vatrabhāṭṭi, his son Skandabhāṭṭa and the latter's son Anahila.—Ed.]

² [If the two dots after *ann* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhaukshaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvaritas*.—Ed.]

³ [This though not so specified must have been the *śaśḍala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthali twelve (?), Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthali in the medieval period.—Ed.]

⁴ [The boundary of Baratāka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrāniyaka as also a well belonging to the god Aditya are referred to in the Dhānka grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

⁵ The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

[†] Read *prāśāśa*.

7. pradāna-paratayā triṣṭvāda-apīat-śāśha-ava-kāryya-phala(h*) prārtahan-ādhih-
 ārtiha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrit-prataya(yi)-hīdayah pāda-
 8. chār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-pramōḍah parama-māhōvaraḥ śrī-Guha-
 sēna-asaya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-viṣṭi-
 9. ta-Jānuavi-jal-angha-prakāśāt-āśeṣa-kalmashah prapāṇi-sata-sahas-ōpajivya-māna-sam-
 pad-rūha(paj)-lōbhāt-iv-ārtitah sarabhasam-ā-
 10. bhigānikair-ggūṇais-saha-śakti-śikṣā-viśeṣa-vismāṭpit-ākṣha-bala-dhanuridharah-
 pratham-narapati-samatiaśitā(nā*)m-anupālayitā
 11. dharmma-dāyānām mapākartā* praj-ōpaghāta-kārtān-apaplavānām darlayitā
 śrī-Sarasvatyōś-āk-adhivāsa-ya(suh)hat-ārati-jakha-la-
 12. kām-ḥa(pa)-cūḍhoga-dakha-vikramā(mō) vikrama-ōpamāpṛapta-vimāla-pārtihiva-ārīḥ
 parama-māhōvaraḥ śrī-Dharaśō(śē)mas-tasya sutas-tat-pād-ānu-
 13. dhyātas-sakula-dī(ja)gad-ānandan-ācy-adbhuta-guṇa-samudā(ya*)-sthagita-samagra-dig(ō)-
 maṇḍalas-samara-sata-vijaya-lōbh-ānātha-taṇḍalāgra-
 14. dyuti-bhāsuratar-āna(śra)-pīṭh-śāśha-gura-manōratha-mō(ma)hābhāras-sarva-vidyā-par-
 āpara-vihhāg-ādhiḥama-vimāla-matir-āpi sarva-
 15. tas-subhāṣita-levu-āpi sukh-ōpupādāniya-paritōḥas-samagra-lōk-āgāḥa-gāmbhīryya-
 kṛdayō-pi sucharit-ātīḥaya-su-
 16. vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ khūlībhūta-Kṛta-yuga-nṛpati-patha-viśōdha-
 ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrtir-dharmu-ānu(nu)parōdh-ōjvalata-
 17. rīkṣit-ārtha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirōḇha-Dharmmāditya-dvitya-nāmā parama-
 māhōvaraḥ śrī-Silāditya-luāl sarvaś-
 18. v-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drōṇika-mahattara-śaṅkika-chaurōddharanika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kum-
 rāmāty-āḥa-ānyām(mā)-cha yathā-samha-
 19. dhyamānakā-samājīpayaṭy-astu vas-sahviditah yathā mayā mātā-pitā(ō)h-puṇy-
 āpyānāya Bhadrō-

Second Plate.

20. niyaka-grāmā(na)-nipo(vi)hāt-Adityadēva-pādānām pūjā-snapana-gandha-puakpa-mālya-
 dīpa-tail-ādī-apayōgāya vādya-gīta-nṛity-ā-
 21. dy-ārthiḥ valī-chara-satr-ōsarppaṇāya pādāmūle-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dōvakulasya
 cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratīsamakūṛīya
 22. cha Bāra-vanaśhalyām Bhadrēpiyaka-grāmō pūrvva-simni brūhmaṇa-Prabhandata-
 satka-brahma-dēya-kāhōrāt-pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
 23. satka-brahma-dēya-kāhōrāt-dalodipataḥ Baratikā-daḍḍakād-uttarataḥ Gōppara-
 hā(vā)ṭaka-(grā)ma-simā-sambhēr-āparataḥ-pādāvarita-satam
 24. tath-āsimni-ōva grāmō bhāikshakamḥ* lavam-ōtat-pādāvarita-satam bhāikshakam
 cha sōdraṇam sōparikaram sāvāta-bhūta-pratyāyam endhānyā-
 25. hirag-ādāyati sadakōparāḥam sōtpadyamāna-viśṭis* sarva-rājakīyānām-ahanta-
 prakāhōpānyam pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēya-
 26. varjīnat bhūma(mā)-chchhīdra-nyāyā-śchandr-ārko-āmpara-kāṭa(tī)-sarit-pūrvvata-
 samakāḥmat dharmma-dāyāsyā nṛpīṣṭam yataḥ a-
 27. pari-(li*)khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kālchid-vyāśhē vurtiṣṭa*pyam-āgōmī-
 bhadra-nṛpatibhir-āpy-samad-vahājair-ānyair-vyā anityā-

* Read *śimāpī*.* Read *dharmma-dāyānām - apārtitā*.* [The *śimā* is superfluous or it may be the numeral sign for 2.—Ed.]* Read *śimāpī*.

- 28 ny=aiśvāryyāny=āsthiraṁ mānuskayāni sāmānya(ā*) cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=ava-
gacchhādibhiḥ=ayam=annad-dāy=ānumantavyayāb(vyāb) paṭipālayi-
29 tavyaś=ch=āty=uktāḥ cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsāna Vyāsāna (†) Bahubbhīr=vyasodhā
bhuktā rājabhiḥ=Sagar-ādibhiḥ (*) yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmi=ti(ā)sya tasya tadā phalam | Yān=tha dāridrya-bhayaṁ=narēndraire-
ddhanāni dharm-āyatani(nī)=mṛi(kṛ)tāni (†) nirbhbbhu(bbbh)kta-māliya-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādādita || Shashūṭiḥ varsha-sahasraṇi avarggē
mōdati bhūmidāḥ (*) āchchhātā ch=ā-
32 numantā cha tāny=eva narakō vasād=ti (†) Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahaḥ
likhitāḥ sandhivigrahādibhiḥ(mṛi(kṛ)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā | † Saṁ 200 90 2 Chaitra-āu 10 4 (*) Śva-hastō mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA : ŚAKA 1440.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AITAN, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription* is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍapa' in the Maṭṭaināthāvara temple at Pirānmalai in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is Tamil prose and the alphabet is Tamil with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few orthographical peculiarities such as the use of *shoka* in place of (i) *koka* (1.3) and of (ii) *sha* (1.1) ; of *ja* for *ḥa* (1.9) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (1.5, 10, 12 and 15) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation :—

Kaḍamai (1.11). This word is used in Tamil inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession ; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, *Tayik-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kāṇikkai (1.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānuka* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kāṇikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kāṇikkai-paṭṭipon* and *Nāṭṭuk-kāṇikkai*.

Vēḍukōḷ (1.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in 1.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Ōlai-ṇṇuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vāḷai-viniyōgam*.

The present record is dated in Śaka 1440 in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler Krishna-dēva-Mahārāya, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details† of date given in it viz., Mithuna, ba. amāvāsya, Tuesday, Vēddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to Tuesday, June 8, 1518 A.D., as its equivalent, when there was a solar eclipse visible in India.

The object of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village Mēlār in Śōla-pāṇḍya-vaṇaṇḍu, by Poppambalanātha-Topṭaimān, the chief (*aradu*) of Arantāngi, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamahānāḷgar at Tirukkoṇṇkunram, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

* Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot.

† Read *vasat* (†) *in* ||

* No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

† In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 69, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Saumya, but it can be read as Vēgnadhāya (or Babudhāya) which was current in Śaka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Poggambalaznātha¹ Toṇḍaimāṇ, the foremost of the chiefs of Arantāṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 18th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevely district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Śtūpatas of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Arantāṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Arantāṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi have the distinct appellations 'Arantāṅgi-araiya' and 'Toṇḍaimāṇ'. The latter title² which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Toṇḍai' or 'Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam', i.e., the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāṣṇhipuram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title Toṇḍaimāṇ seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Toṇḍaimāṇ of Vayḍuvāṇḍi (i.e., modern Vayḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kaliṅḡattupparai*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Toṇḍaimāṇ' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭṭai State not far from the Arantāṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Arantāṅgi Toṇḍaimāṇ chiefs. A Toṇḍaimāṇ chief by name Valattu-vālvitta-Perumāṇ³ claiming to belong to Vēṇḱa-nāḍu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkōṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1201 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanaśaktavartin Kulaiśkhara⁴ also mentions this chief and another⁵ makes provision for the 'Valattu-vālvittāṇḱandi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaiśkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kapparkōṭṭai* the hero is a certain Karuṇāṅkkaṇ, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōṭṭai.⁶ He is there styled a Toṇḍaimāṇ and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr⁷ in the Cuddapah district mentions

¹ In *Sep-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Toṇḍaimāṇ in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, i.e., A.D. 1018 on the Nērttāmalai hill (vide 'A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State' by Radhakrishnan, p. 115). There is also a reference to Toṇḍaimāṇ in the *Malāvarma* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulaiśkhara on being defeated by the Sinhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Toṇḍaimāṇ, that Kulaiśkhara then attacked the Sinhalese forces at Pōṇ-Amatirattai (a village in the south-west of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Toṇḍaimāṇ and some other chieftains, Kulaiśkhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulaiśkhara-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nērttāmalai hill in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

² Vide *A General History of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, p. 115.

³ No. 255 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No. 483 of 1918 of the same collection.

⁵ *Sep-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318d.

⁶ No. 594 of 1907.

⁷ No. 594 of 1907.

Tonjaimānār alias Tirumelvēli-Uḍaiyār who was a minister of Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Tonjaimānār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karunāpikkāṇ mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Tonjaimānā were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title 'Arantāṅgi-arāṇu' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Tonjaimānā or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāls of Tinnevely, for we find a lithic record from Eṭṭiyattal¹ in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirumelvēli-perumāḷ Tonjaimānār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virūḍhin and mentions the signatory Niramavajagiyāṇ-Kāḷṅgarāyaṇ who figures in another epigraph² in the same place dated in Saka 1564 (=A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jaṭavarman Aṭikēsarīyēva alias Parākrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1426-1463) and his brother Kulāśekharaḍēva (A.D. 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevely and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.³ Ekapperumāḷ, the father of Poggambalanātha-Tonjaimānār, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Tonjaimānārāṇḍi' after his name. Among the titles of Poggambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to 'Kāṇḍīpuravarūḍhīḍēva' the lord of Kāṇḍi, the best of cities' and 'Eṭe-nāḷoiyī Yāṇ-tira-koṇḍa-perumāl' the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title 'Kāṇḍīpuravarūḍhīḍēva' assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord⁴. Poggambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāyār⁵. He was in power for over half a century (circa 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya at least between Saka 1436⁶ and 1459.⁷ His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkottai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirāṇmalai in the Ramanad district.

¹ No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

³ In an earlier record (No. 299 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvamānjam, dated in Saka 1305, Badhirūḍgā, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, viz., Alagayamānārāḷ-perumāḷ Tonjaimānār, Sūrya-ḍēva Sundarapāṇḍya Tonjaimānār and Muṇḍira-ṭarumāl Kulāśekhara-Tonjaimānār are mentioned. The Saka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Saka 1305 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

⁴ See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No. 146 of 1903 from Pirāṇmalai is the only record that refers to the invasion of Ceylon by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Saka 1440 and also mentions the chief Poggambalanātha-Tonjaimānār. It is known that the predecessors of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (viz., seven days) within which Poggambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

⁶ Āṇḍaiya-Tambirāyār is the name of the god at Āṇḍaiyāṇḍōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavāṇḍava.

⁷ No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ No. 240 of 1930 of the same collection.

Pōṇṇambalanātha was succeeded in the Aramāṅgi principality by Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṅ¹ son of Tyāgarasār Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *aśvamauryādīp* and *śaśvatīrājādīp* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (= A.D. 1677), not far removed from the latest known date of Pōṇṇambalanātha, viz., A.D. 1569.

The line of Aramāṅgi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Palaravanam in the Pudukkottai State.²

The chiefs of Aramāṅgi so far known from epigraphical sources are :-

1. Kulastēkhara-Toṇḍaimāṅ³ (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Sōryādēvar Sendarapādya-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1443 A.D.),
3. Malavallapperumāl-Toṇḍaimāṅ,
4. Alagiya Maṇavāḷapperumāl-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkapaḍaṅṇāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṅ or Lakkappaḍaṅṇāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1453 A.D.),
6. Tīruncivāḷipperumāl (1459 A.D.),
7. Ekapperumāl-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1491 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tīravinaittīrāṭṭ-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1497 A.D.),
9. Āṇḍaiya-Nāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1499 A.D.) and
10. Pōṇṇambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavinōḍa-Toṇḍaimāṅ (1536 A.D.),
12. Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṅ, son of Tyāgarasār-Narasā-Nāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṅāchala Vagaṇḍāmudi-Toṇḍaimāṅ, son of Raghunātha Vagaṇḍāmudi-Toṇḍaimāṅ⁴ (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record *Mēlūr* is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madurai. *Tirukkoṇḍukunṇam* (i.e., Pīrāmalai) is said to have been in Tīrumanai-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tīrumanai in the Sivaṅga taluk. The territorial name *Sōḷapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu* is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves *Sōḷa-Pāṇḍya*.

TEXT.

- 1 [Seasti] [!]* Ściman-ma[ḡ]maṇḍallūran [arivarāya]-vibhāḷaṇ *bāśchakkut-tappuva-rāya-gaḷḷaṇ kaṇḍa-nāḍu-koṇḍu koṇḍa-nāḍu-kuḷāḷāṇ pūrvu-
- 2 deśhapa⁵-paśchima-uttara-samabhirāḍhīpati eomaḷḷalamum koṇḍu eḷumaru-lyu sri)-(Kriṣṇaḍē[va]-Maḥ[ā]rāyar prithirī-rāchchiyam paṇḍi-aruḷāṇiga
- 3 *śakābdom* 1440 idamaḷ Vagaḍhāḷḷiya-[varuṣa]⁶ḷa uttarāyaṇattu Mithuna-nāyaru apara-paśchattu⁷ [a]nāḍvāḷḷayum Maṇḍalavāramum Viruḍi-
- 4 yōḡamum peṇṇa irai-nāḷ⁸ Sōriya-girana-puṇṇiya-kāḷattu Tīrumanai-nāḷḷu- *Tiruk-koṇḍukunṇattu*⁹ Nāyaka Nallamaṇḍaḷḷaṅka Ara[n]ḷāṅgi-araṇu aśvamaurya-

*No. 511 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. From the records so far available, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōḍa-Toṇḍaimāṅ, the son of Pōṇṇambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Aramāṅgi.

¹ *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

² From Nos. 220 of 1914 and 228 of 1939; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

³ Known only from a copper-plate record. Vide *Sas. Times*, Vol. XXI, p. 441 E.

⁴ Read *bhāḷaḷ*.

⁵ Read *śakābdom*.

⁶ The word *varuṣa* is expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *apara-paśchattu*.

⁸ The *irai-nāḷ* is not given.

⁹ *Tirukkoṇḍukunṇam* is also known as *Dakshina-Kalliam* in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

- 5 [yāda]-perumāḥ¹ 'alaivilāḥjāda-perumāḥ mugilin-kil-ttiriyaṁ-Iḥa-Vaṅgiyar-aiśura-gaṇḍaḥ²
 āttukka-āṇai-vaṅgiṇ-perumāḥ] ēlu-nāḥaiyil Yḷḷan-tiṭaikōṇḍu-perumā-
 6] kōṇ pāḥa . . . [yāda]-perumāḥ] Kāñchēpuravar-ādhīśvara³ Āvudaiya-Tambirānār-
 ārpāda-bhaktay Ekāpperumāḥ-Tonḍaimānār putiṇay
 7 Poṅṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār Navinār Nallamāṇaiyāgaru [u]ḷḷaiyamāṇa ma-
 ṭina tīru-kāḷach-chaṇḍikka amudapaḍi [śāttu]ppaḍi uḷḷittu
 8 vōḍum nittan-nima[ndan]gaḷukku nam-[pērā]ḥ kattiṇa Poṅṇambalanātha-Tonḍai-
 mānār-saṇḍiyāṇa amudaiyayum-paḍikkku ku-
 9 ḍutta [yḷ]-pavaiṇār . . . dēvadāna . . . 'nāmattukkāṇiy-āṇa Sōḷa-Pāṇḍiya-vaṅṇāṭṭu
 Māṭar peru-nāṇy-ellaikk-uḷḷipattā]-
 10 dum sa-hiray-ōḍaḷka-dhār-pūvam-āṇa tīrunāmat-tukkāṇi-āṇa chaṇḍ-āḍitrayar
 sellak-kuḍuttapaḍiālē ḍakkuḷ uḷḷipattā⁴
 11 nūḷu-nūḷōḇpa-jala-pāśāṇa-kūpa-[ta]ḷākāḍiyum Tambirānāḱē urittāṇa kaḍavad-
 āṇavum ivv-ūṭku varum kaḍamai kō-
 12 ḷḷikai vōḍukōḷ vinirōṇam maṇṇuṇ eppōṇṇattā⁵ vati ubā(pā)ḍhiyom kaḷituk-ku-
 ḍuttapaḍiālē chaṇḍ-āḍitraya-
 13 pēḷḷa sārvaṇmāṇiyam-āṇa tīrunāmattukkāṇi-āṇa⁶ aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum kaḷḷilum
 sēmbilum vēṭṭikko-
 14 oḍu tīrunāmattukkāṇi-āṇa chaṇḍ-āḍitrayavēḷḷa aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum inda
 daṇṇattukku aṇṭam paṇṇi-
 15 navaṇ Gaṇḍaikkataiyil kaṇḍaiyura brāhmaṇaṇṇaiyum mātā-paṇḍaiyum guru-
 vāiyum kōṇṇa [ōḷ]ḥattālē pā-
 16 gaḷkaḍavāṇ-āṇavum⁷ inda oḍḍē sārvaṇmāṇiyam-āṇappari aṇubhavittuk-kōḷḷavum
 Aran-
 17 tāṇi-kaṇṇukku Aḍiyār⁸kkumallāṇ Kaṇṇūre-Kāḷiṇṇarāyā⁹ aḷuttu [ḷ¹⁰]

¹The title 'alaivilāḥjāda' is not newly borne by this chief. (Fide Nos. 208 of 1124 and 173 of 1626 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)

²With the title *Vaṅgiyar-mīṇa-gaṇḍaṇ* compare the titles *Vaṅgiyar-ōṭṭa-tar* (1110) and *Sorimatta Vaṅgiyar* assumed by the Sōṭupati Chiefs (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions: Burrows and Natesa Sastri*, pp. 72 and 79 and *Transactions Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the MacKenzie Manuscript says that two feudal chiefs of the Vāṇḍiya caste, who were ruling at Tiravaḷalishchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevārāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Devārāya II gives him the title 'the hero who took the heads of the 15 Vāṅgiyars' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No. 11, p. 150). The Vāṅgiyars who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Devārāya, Poṅṇambalanātha-Tonḍaimānār and the Sōṭupati of Ramanad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vāṅgiyars.

³The title *Kāñchēpuravarādhīśvara* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Kanchipuram'. The chiefs Pallavaṇḍa-Sūḷaṇḍiār (A. R. 1922, para. 144) and Vijaya Gaṇḍaṇḍapala Madhuvāḍaṇḍiār (A. R. 1923, p. 81) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this title is borne by Krishnaṇḍa-Nāṇḍa (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 237), indicating that the original home of the Madras Nāṇḍas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jayavarman Sūḍaṇḍa-Pāṇḍya (see 1251 A.D.) (S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 122), this title was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchēpura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominions.

⁴The gap in this line may be filled with the letters *śāttu* and *ppaḍi*.

⁵Read *uḷḷipattā*.

⁶Read *eppōṇṇattā*.

⁷This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

⁸There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *śāttu* *ppaḍi* or *śāttu* *ppaḍi*.

⁹Read 'Kāḷiṇṇarāyā'.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the illustrious *Mahānāyaka* Krishnadeva-Mahārāja, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the Śaka year 1440 (corresponding to Bahudhāra, during Uttarāyana, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the antyāśvā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Viddhi-śaka,—on this day, I, Pōppambalanātha-Tondaimāgar, the son of Kappurumai-Tondaimāgar, the chief of Arantāgar, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed.....¹ who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from Ilam (Ceylon) within seven days, who was the lord of Kāraṭi, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god Āvudaiya-Tambirāgar—having given the (land) situated within the four great boundaries of Mēlūr in Śōlapādyā-vaṇaṇḍu as *tiruvāntukkāḷi* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to (the god) Nayaṇār Nallamaṅgalbāgar at Tirikkoḷaṅkuraṁ in Tirumalai-nāḷu for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the Pōppambalanātha-Tondaimāgar-ṇandi (service) in the early morning to the god Nayaṇār Nallamaṅgalbāgar, instituted after my own name—(the rights over) its treasures and hidden deposits (in this land), its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the Tambirāgar (god). And as the taxes including *kaḍamai*, *kūṇikai*, *ēṇṇukōḷ*, *enṇēṇṇam* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tiruvāntukkāḷi* (temple land) and a *ṇaruvāṇḍa* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tiruvāntukkāḷi*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmana, (his own) parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *ṇaruvāṇḍa*. This is the willing of Aḍiyāḷ*²kkumallāy Kaṇṇuruk-Kāḷṇaṇḍayan, the accountant of Arantāgar.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G. E. 1198).

By K. N. DESHP, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nāgod State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The plate measures 3½" in length and 3¼" to 3½" in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the Majhrawān¹ copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ½". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the half-headed forms of letters as in the Majhrawān plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of a without the

¹ The term *enṇēṇṇam* *ilḷ-ṇēṇṇam* *ilḷ-ṇēṇṇam* *ilḷ-ṇēṇṇam* is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇṇiyas of Ceylon'. If 'enṇēṇṇam' could be taken as a proper name like Magdān, the phrase may be construed as 'the proud conqueror of the Vāṇṇiyas of Ceylon who were at the beak and tail of Magdān.'

² Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 100 &.

loop at the end, and *dh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Dhātūdhya*, l. 2 and *Yajñādhyā*, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards orthography, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pūrcarddha*¹, l. 3, *pūrcādyā*, l. 3 and *°dhir-vā* l. 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambhatsara*, l. 3 are noteworthy. The language is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (1) called Navagrāma² in the *vāśya* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *śrīputa*-*Parivrajakas*), by the Maharaja Hastin in the year ninety-eight (increased by hundred). The donors were several Brāhmanas³ of the *Parā-kara-gotra* and *Mādhvantiṇa-śikhā* (of the white Yajurveda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Saṅkashōbha issued the Betul grant⁴ in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 191, the year of his Khōṇ copper-plate,⁵ he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. The known dates of Hastin (155, 163, 191 and 198) and Saṅkashōbha (199, 209) are undoubtedly to be referred to the Gupta era, as the expression *gupta-vijaya-bhaktā* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, viz., 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.⁶ Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha *sambhatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha *sambhatsara*, which was current during the period (178-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D.⁷ and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247 = 438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view⁸ originally proposed by Kiehlhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Ashādha* in the year 191 of the Sōhāwal⁹ plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvṇa* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*¹⁰ followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kiehlhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul¹¹ plates of Saṅkashōbha. It is thus clear that the *dvir-Ashādha* of the Sōhāwal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvṇa*, which commenced

¹ Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

² The number of donors would seem to be seven, i.e., three Brāhmanas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105 of Introduction.

⁷ Above, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1190, p. 150, c. 5.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

⁹ According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 310-11 A.D. was *Ārvin* (Sewall, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p. 308).

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff.

on 8th June as a pūrṇimāṣṭa month, which was apparently followed in this locality. The date of the Sōhāwal plates must then be understood as being equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A. D.

The mention of the Mahāśvayuja *śuklāmāsa* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G.E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A.D. and the Mahāśvayuja *śuklāmāsa* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A.D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. The missing month may therefore be supplied as Chaitra (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or Vaiśākha. The date of the Betul plates of Śaṅkshōdha, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A.D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to Pulinda-rāja-rāshtra in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *uripati*-*Parivrajaka* family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Aśvāśa* *Beṭhāra*, along with the Sabaras, with whom they have been always associated and sometimes confounded.*

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

TEXT.

- 1 Namō Mahāśvayuja || Svasty-*aśṭānavaty-ā* [**ātarō-bda-śatō* Gupta-*uripa-rāja-*
bhuktāu *śrī*]
- 2 matī pravariddhamānō Mah-*Āśvayuja-samba(va)tsarō* [**... māsa ... pakṣa ...*]
- 3 *māsyarō* *samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyān* [*uripati-parivrajaka-kul-*
ōpamāna mahārāja-]
- 4 Dēvādhyā-prānapnō mahārāja-*śrī-Prabhāmāsa* [**naptrā* Mahārāja-*Śrī-Dharmōdara-*
autāna gōsa-]
- 5 *haara-hasty-śara-śirasy-śuśka-bhūmi-pradī* [*na*] [**guru-pitri-mātri-pūjā-tatparāg-*
āyanta-dēva-]
- 6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktō-śuśka-samara-tata-vija [**rinā* *eva-vadit-śuśka-karōṇa* Mahā-
rāja-śrī-]
- 7 Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshtrō Navagrāmakō (kō 1) [**nāma grāmaḥ pūrv-*
śchāta-parichchhēda-maryādāyā śōdra-]
- 8 āgah *sōparikarō-chāḥa-bhata-prāvēdyō* [**mātā-pūtrō-ātmanas-cha* paṇy-
ābhividdhavyō]
- 9 Parāśara-sagōtrābhyō Mādhyandina-Vā [**jasaṇḍya-sabrahmachārībhyō-mābhyō*]
- 10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-Yajñādhyasvāmi-tat-putra-Bha [**ṭṭa ... Brāhmaṇa ...*]
- 11 *naavāmi-tat-putra-ōṣṭapajāsavāmi* [**Brāhmaṇa ... ya* (*āsavāmi* *tat-putra-*)
- 12 Bhaṭṭa-Saṁbhūya (*āsavāmi* Bhaṭṭa-*Śāna-Ya* [**ḥa-svānibhyō* *putra-pautra-ānṛay-*
ōpakhōgyah]
- 13 tānra-śśaṇḍō-*āgrā* (*hārō-śāśishta* [**ḥ*] *chaṇra-varjjana* | *tad-asmat-kul-ōtthair-*
mat-pāda-pipḍ-ō]
- 14 pajivibhū-vvā kāl-āntarāhv-*api na* [**vyāghātah* *karajīyah* | *āvaca-ājjāyātō*
yō ...]

* Varāhamihira, IX-20. Majumdar, *McCrie's Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

* *Kushan-sage* (vide Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 130).

१. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 २. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ३. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ४. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ५. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ६. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ७. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ८. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ९. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 १०. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 ११. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 १२. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 १३. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः
 १४. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ सुमुमुक्षुः

1244

No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF. V. V. MRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Siṅghana—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva¹ called Ambikēśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Aṭhaḍāpura), a village about 28 miles from Bhillana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1·7" to ·9". The characters are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *aṭhaḍā-pi* in ll. 1-2 and *Ambikēśvara* in ll. 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhūḍeva* in l. 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēvadya* in l. 5. The medial *z* is shown in some places by a *prishthanāṭrā* (cf. *Bhūḍeva* in l. 7). The language is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards orthography we may note that the letter 'i' is doubled in two places after the preceding 'r', viz., *chakravartī* in l. 4 and *Kirtana* in l. 7.

The inscription states that in Śaka 1133 when the cyclic year was Prajāpati, Dēvāśaka was the governor (of the territory round Aṭhaḍāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpa-chakravartī Siṅghanaśadēva. In that year a person named Maṅgala, the son of Bhūḍeva, built a *stupa* (1) in the temple (*Kirtana*) constructed by Padmanāga(Pradyumana)sēṭhi who was a resident of Aṭhaḍāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details; but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Siṅghanaśadēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravartin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvāgiri in the first half of the 13th century A.D.² There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, viz., 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Siṅghana's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvāgiri found in Berar. It is likely that Siṅghana was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, viz., 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnāṭak, which is alluded to in the Dōyī inscription.³ Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārḍi stone inscription,⁴ and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berār or the country round Aṭhaḍāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śri [i]* Śakā aṭha-
- 2 ḍā-pi⁵ 1133 Prajāpati aṭha-
- 3 taṭṭh svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
- 4 vartī-īri-Siṅghanaśadēva-vijaya-rājyē

¹ The inscription is not at the temple of Bhavani as stated by R. B. Hiralal in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 133. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

² *First Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, Part II, p. 322.

³ No. 79 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection for 1927-8.

⁴ O. B. Khare, *Sources of the Mahomed History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 48.

⁵ This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

- 5 Dānalyaka bhôktil[et] Anhaññ-
 6 pur[et] vāṇavy[et] Padumanp[et]hi-
 7 kral[et] Krtan[et] Bhāidēva-putra-Mahaga-
 8 mpaka (?) [et]ragam l(d*)am (?) — — t[et] — —

B.—The Bārai-Tāklī Inscription of the reign of Hāmādrīdēva—Saka 1088.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavāni in the village of Bārai-Tāklī, twelve miles south-east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr. H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1902. "It (i.e. the temple) consists of a shrine and a *mandapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *mandapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *mandapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *mandapa* is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Gāyapati, are the females Mahākālī and Mahābhairavānanti, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 7 at Balsane in Khandesh".

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the *mandapa* facing the entrance. As in the case of the Rāmāṅg Lakṣmīnāya Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3' 3" broad by 11" high. The average size of letters is about 1". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory *Oṃ Svasti* and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines; but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double *daṇḍas* are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The orthography calls for few remarks; *ṣ* is occasionally employed for *ś*, e.g., in *Paṣāṭha* in l. 1; the *anuvāda* is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, e.g., *Nimlāna* in l. 3, *āpāṇantam* in l. 4; etc. The consonant *ṣ* following *r* is occasionally doubled as in *ṣṛitṣu* and *varṣāntāṇā* in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an *anuvāda* in *brīmā* in l. 8, *dūvām* (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavāni. I found, however, no image of the deity in the *garbhagṛha*. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermilion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva's bull) in the *mandapa* facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

* Read *Dānalyakā bhôktil*.

* Read *kral*.

* Read **pura-vāṇavy*.

* The last line is very indistinct.

monḍapa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavāntī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Viṣṇu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēṣṇa*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsuramardini and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Consens, images of Narasimha and other deities of the Viṣṇu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagriha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *monḍapa*, which support the Vaiṣṇava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavāntī, when the original image of Viṣṇu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of **Ghaṭāma** who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with **Hāmādrīdēva** mentioned later on in l. 6, defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugiśāva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital **Tēkkall** into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary ministers, who belonged to the *Vālahya-gotra*, **Bhīllama**, his son **Pālama**, his son **Māila**, and his son **Gāmiyāya** or **Gāmarāja**, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Viṣṇu in this town (evidently **Tēkkall**), of which the midday sun formed the *chakra* finial, the quarters the fringes and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmarāja excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (*vāṇī*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The date of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the Durmukha Samvatsara—Śaka 1098**, the *Nakṣatra* being **Pushya**, the *Yōga* **Āyushman** and the *Karaṇa* **Vaṇīja***. According to D. B. Swaminathan Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka 1098 expired was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakṣatra* was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hēmalambha and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that **Vaiśākha Śūla Saptamī** in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha *expired*), (i.e. Hēmalambha *current*), ended at 12 ghaṭikā (4 h. 45 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakṣatra* was Pushya which ended at 51 ghaṭikā (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya *Nakṣatra* (an *amrita-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karaṇa* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was **Vaṇīja**, but the *yōga* was **Śūla** and not **Āyushman** as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking **Āyushman**

yōga in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *nukshata* and *karmā* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular yōga. It is also possible that the framers of the record purposely substituted Āyushmat for Śāla, as the latter is not an auspicious yōga. This discrepancy in respect of yōga is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of yōgas is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.'¹ The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tēkkali which must be identified with modern Bārsi Tāklī in Berār. The founder of the family was one Damurāja. The names of this prince and of Ghatēma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādrīdēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādrīdēva of the Nikumbhika family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Ghālligauh region of Khāndesh sometime after Śāka 1128 (1207 A.D.);² (2) Hēmādrī defeated by Khōlśvara, the famous general of Bhīllama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śāka 1150 at Ambē;³ and (3) Hēmādrī Paṇḍit who was a minister of Rāmadēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Thāga⁴ inscription dated Śāka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *prima facie* it appears doubtful if our Hēmādrī who was ruling in Śāka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlśvara sometime before Śāka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Siṅghapa who ruled from Śāka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Māluginēva, who invaded Tēkkali with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugi (or Mallugi) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugi, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārḍi stone inscription⁵ dated Śāka 1124, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śāka 1096, and (2) Mallugi, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhīllama (Śāka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugi was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śāka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śāka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādrīdēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugi, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇi. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Pratākhapaṇa* of Hēmādrī Paṇḍit that Mallugi, the Yādava king, took a town named Parakhēṭa from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.⁶ The early Yādava princes were ruling in

¹ *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 20.

² *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341.

³ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 54.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 195.

⁵ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 30.

⁶ B. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, Third Edition, p. 173.

Sāṅgadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh; Parnakhēṭa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār.¹ We may note again that Khōlśēvara, a general of the Yādava Śiṅghapa, defeated one Hāmādrī of Parnakhēṭa.² Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hāmādrī of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājāla, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tēkkālī with a large army; finally Khōlśēvara defeated Hāmādrī early in the reign of Śiṅghapa. If Hāmādrī was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, viz., Bhīllama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas.³

TEXT.

- 1 यो¹ ॥ यो स्वस्ति यो शकः १०८८ [दुर्मख संवत्सरे] वैसाख² मासे
शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्रे आशुक्ल[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकरणे]
- 2 जयति³ तुलसिरक्तः[*] शंकितो राधयाई चरणनिहितम्[ही] विवितस्तावत्प्रेषु ।
शिव इति नखरगि⁴ धेतितैकादशाभा हरिरविहृत[मूर्त्ति].....
- 3 वा⁵(वा)[इरु]दयभृष्टदंशो यमोभूभुवि¹⁰ दंतुराजः । ततस्ततः स्वप्रवलप्रतापज्वर-
ज्वलच्छतुरभुष्टाभः । [॥*] ¹¹निमीलंनलिनारातिवनितावदनांशुजः ।प्राप्ते
ततः । [वर्मा]...रा वापा (?)....
- 4 च [॥*] निवारितो¹² मंदिगणेन बालः[*] स्वयैर्भटैर्भालुनिदेवपुत्रं । जिगाय
सेनाबहुलत्वदर्पाद्गोडावयो राजलभापतन्तं¹³ ॥ स्मारं [स्मार].....याव
शोकं पा.....
- 5 धिक्वांश्रुया¹⁴ रणविधौ नृत्वत्कबंधव्रजैः¹⁵ व्यालुमच्चित्तिपालमं(म)ण्डलकरादाने दया-
भाषणेः [॥*] कीर्त्तौ चामरवर्त्मनो लघुतया [यो]....स्वयो[ध]रण....भूमिः क-
- 6 [दा १] च¹⁶ नवलत्ववलेरुपैता¹⁷ ॥(॥*) हेमाद्रिदेवनृपतेः कलितापशब्धं
नेचाजि¹⁸ शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनापि ॥ सोपपन्नं¹⁹ चिरकलंकयुतं जया[त्ते]
.....मोदितं वि.... मण्डलमस्य राज्ञः (n) तेह²⁰

¹ There is a village called Pākhēṭ about 4 miles to the south-west of Hīrī Tākī, which I would identify with Parnakhēṭa.

² G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64. I read वसंतपक्षे in place of वासन्तेपक्षे. [The name वसन्तेपक्ष also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar.—Ed.]

³ Cf. B. B. Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar* (Second Edition), p. 128.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Metro: Māhāt.

⁶ Read नखरगि⁶.

⁷ Read मूर्त्ति.

⁸ Metro: Upajit.

⁹ Metro: Śarīlāharibhāṭa.

¹⁰ Metro: Vāsanatāhāt.

¹¹ Read मोदितं.

¹² Read वैसाख.

¹³ Read राधयाई.

¹⁴ Metro: Upajit.

¹⁵ Metro: Anasāpāh. Read मोदितं.

¹⁶ Read तापलकम्.

¹⁷ Read "जययावत्"

¹⁸ Read "दंशो."

¹⁹ Metro: Anasāpāh.

- 7 श्री राजधानी सा धर्मदुर्गे कली युगे । वाणारसी कृता तेन विमलेः
सुचरित्रैः । [1^a] पाठ¹ पुरा विरचितैः सुकृतैः कवंचिदेहं विहाय निवृत्ता
..... स्वजने समस्ताः । [1^a] जज्ञे² राज्ञा प्रज्ञा सा-
- 8 ज्ञाकृतेषां मंत्री मौली³ लब्धकालभ्यगोत्रः । शूरः⁴ श्रीमा⁵ भोजमो नाम
तस्माच्छातः पुरः पालमः मुख्यकीर्तिः ॥ 'तस्मादभूत्साधलनामनेयस्ततः... श्री ॥
'उत्कृष्टेपि गुणे [यस्य..] ज्ञाता(ता)ना-
- 9 [प]नीयते । अतिगार्ह्येण गार्ह्येण ततः समुदपयतः⁶ । [1^a] 'हरिवरणासरोज-
रत्नचित(त)नपितममुकृतपातकप्रवारः तत उदयत गामे(मि)यायदास्त्रा(ज्ञान)
विवरिव षडतसा(सं)सृता [मिवाविनी] दरिद्रता⁷ ॥ मा-
- 10 अदिने⁸ दिनपत्नी हरिवेम्भूडावक्रोक्तते विततभङ्गगिरिपदिके⁹ । विष्णो[स्म]हं
व्यतिनि¹⁰ तेन पुरेय तत्र नीलातपत्रमिव यत्र नभो विभाति ॥
टारटं(र) यस्यां दिन....
- 11 प्रसूताः¹¹ । [1^a] चक्रे¹² स तस्यां जनजीवनार्थे(धे)मुखातपातालतर्कं(ले) तडामं ।
मासात्तर्कं सचित्तयेवरूपैः(ः) पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र सुक्तिः । [1^a] 'प्रसि-
द्धिमा[प्र]..... संव[क्रोष्टनिष्ठा] ---]हर-
- 12 ति कजरिहस्तैर्पितामा(या)दगापि¹³ । इमति कश्चितपद्मेकपदं सागराणां ॥¹⁴
जयति सुकृतमूर्त्तिं गामयाजलडामं ॥ 'उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधासु¹⁵ [विंवि].....
दिगदिष्ट.....
- 13 अमिष पीयूषधामा । प्रतिकृतिगतकूपः पृष्टये स्वस्य वापीं [प्रक्षित-
सुकतराग्निं निर्मि(मं)मे]
- 14 नामानौ¹⁶ तस्य वंधू वभूयतुः । गुणखानि.....
- 19 [1^aतस्य दासस्य दामोहं] मम दतः(न्ति) प्रतिपाद्य[^aताम्] लीया

¹ Metre: Vasantasulkā. Read त्रिः.

² Metre: Śūlīn.

³ Read मौलीजम्भ.

⁴ Read श्रीमान् विजयो.

⁵ Metre: Indramajit.

⁶ Metre: Anushtup.

⁷ Read समुदपयत.

⁸ Metre: Panchajanya.

⁹ Read 'कजरिहस्तैः.

¹⁰ Read जगति.

¹¹ Metre: Upadrasajit.

¹² Metre: Mālinī. The amended reading कजरिहस्तैः दगादि involves a wrong sandhi in कजरिहस्तैः दगादि which should have been कजरिहस्तैः दगादि.

¹³ Dardas unnecessary.

¹⁴ Metre: Indramajit.

¹⁵ Read सुधासु.

¹⁶ Metre: Anushtup.

No. 22.—SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT
RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH : DATED SAKA YEAR 743.

PROF. A. S. ALTHEAUS, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī in his *Early History of Gujarat* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The plates are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13·6" by 7·6". The thickness is about 0·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side, about 0·7" from the edge. The ring is about 0·4" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1·1" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuḍa, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The seal does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines : in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation ; the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully ; as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anantāras* (cf. *nēka* l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. *vyādhyā* l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes ; thus he has crossed out the medial *ā*-mark of *kā* in *kāḥga* in l. 40 and of *jā* in *jānmānugam* in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in *kā* in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryā* so as to change *kāryyā* into *kāraḥyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. *ka* of *vrishāṅka* l. 27, *kā* of *mahācāryyā* l. 32, *pha* of *phalācāpi* l. 33, *ryā* in *śuryyēga* and *yā* in *śadāyā* l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. *āntānti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *taḥā śānādātā* and *śāntān* *su* at that of the third). A *kākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll. 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 53, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *sha* in *rayasarevāśha* l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *pratikṣya* in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigṛhṣṭi* l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter; in the next letter *ṛi* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *i* mark of *ṛi*. As a result *ṛigṛi* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *śhaśiḥ* in *nānāśhaśiḥ* l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The characters belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Paithan, Wāḡi-Diḡḡori, and Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshtrakūṭa* in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *jā* and *jī* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. *śāśiḥ* l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. *īśy-āśmājī* l. 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *ma* and *sha*; in the case of *ru*, *hru* l. 4, *ru* l. 8, *Dhru* l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *m*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *ta* occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. *yōyam* l. 42, *dharmānām* l. 62, *adhikārikān* l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ta* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (l. *vaśi* l. 54 and *śadyā* l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshtrakūṭa records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kannaḍa, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kaṇṇaba plates of Gōvinda III¹. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhi alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Śārngad plates of Dantidurga,² the Talagaon plates³ of Kṛishṇa I, and the Paithan,⁴ Wāḡi-Diḡḡori,⁵ and the Rādhapur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor, Tōrṇaditya⁸ plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates⁹ of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhi alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda-cāhans* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mahāvira, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavādīn where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *d* being changed into *ḍ*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *sandhi* in *prathamā-sukhīnām* l. 39 and in *valabhiśaśmāśhīnām* l. 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV, p. 340.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 278.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 109.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

⁷ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III, p. 106.

⁸ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VI, p. 263.

⁹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III, p. 64.

unconscious influence of the preceding word *lāḍgaṁ*. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Dhāshu-vāpi is treated sometimes as masculine and sometimes as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted :—(1) *Vo* is written throughout for *ba*; (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Siṅghādibhīr-bhūja-vatā* l. 31, *arthishu* and *yathārthatā* in l. 33 and *sārtha* and *Prārtha* in l. 39; (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhāniya* in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhāniya* mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses the *jihvāmālīya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll. 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *vik* (cf. *mka* l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *en* in the present record is different; we have besides two clear cases of *śka* in *śkandhānīm* l. 44 and *yakṣakara* l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jihvāmālīya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jihvāmālīya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m*. (cf. *Ante* Vol. XVII, p. 329, Matteopad plates, l. 7. Vol. VI, p. 7, Alhoje Inscription, l. 17, etc.). (5) The *anusvara* before a *ka* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. *vaśāśi* l. 51; in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary; see ll. 45-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *Om*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 58 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasārikā or modern Nausāri. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarnavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of **Indrarāja**, was encamped on the bank of the **Vāṅkikā** he granted on the full moon day of **Vaiśākha** of the **Śaka year 743 elapsed** (corresponding to **Sunday the 21st of April 821 A.D.**) **Hiranyavyāga**, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Dhāshu, to the Jain teacher **Aparājita**, who was a disciple of the most revered **Sumati** who in turn was a pupil of **Maḍḍavādīn**¹. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written; whether he has changed this letter to *di* or *ḍi* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been **Malavādīn**, but **Mallavādīn**; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *i* may have been inadvertently omitted. **Mallavādīn**, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Maṭha* at Nausāri, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttara-tippaṇaka* on the *Nyāya-bīḍa-ṭīkā* of **Dharmōttarācārya**. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhāṣaṇa has pointed out² that this **Mallavādīn** may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

¹ The reading is clearly *Maladhāri* and not *Malavādī*, to judge from the facsimile.—Ed.

² *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 194-5.

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's view that Dharmōttarāchārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Sāna-saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭṭavali*, the Mūla-saṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēva-saṅgha, Nandī-saṅgha and Sāna-saṅgha sometime in the 7th century A.D.¹ It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-saṅgha is called *chārūṣṭhaga* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭṭavali* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausāri called the Pārśvanātha temple with two *Mothas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Svētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality; in that case the antiquity of the Svētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-saṅgha establishment of Nausāri to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *om* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinendra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy of the main branch up to Amoghavarsha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarṇavarsha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāṣṭrakūṭa records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Prabhakharāja and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Konnūr inscription², Sanjū copper-plates³ of Amoghavarsha I and the Daḍivastāra cave record⁴ do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Kṛṣṇa I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Wāpi-Diṇḍōri⁵ and Rādhapur⁶ plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates⁷ of the present donor and Kāpaṭvanj plates⁸ of Kṛṣṇa II. The bravery of the next ruler Kṛṣṇa I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gāgas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Kṛṣṇa I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaṭvanj plates⁹ of Kṛṣṇa II and the Bagumārā plates¹⁰ of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 474.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 138.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha-vijayiddha-kīrtiḥ*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshtrakūṭas.¹ It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūṭa claim. The Mayur plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra's son in 797² A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṇḍavādipur plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who 'like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her.'³ This statement, especially the Rāmāyaṇa episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression *Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha*⁴ I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshtrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river⁵.

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rāḥanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kaṭhikā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvī plates,⁶ however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvī plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yuvarājya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishikā-kalakraḥ* and *rājādhirāja-paramāśvaratā* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvī and the present plates to denote *gururājādhirāja*; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vs. 32-40 refer to Amoghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amoghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

¹ E.g., Wadd-Digwadi plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

² *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. IX, Nohamangla, No. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nanjangut, No. 200.

⁴ [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāṅgaugha*; . . . *Ind. Ant.*,—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 825 A.D. For, the Nausāri plates¹ of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amoghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates² of his son Dhruva, issued in October 825 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshtrakūṭas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausāri grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amoghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amoghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper-plates³ of Amoghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement.⁴ It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshtrakūṭa record (e.g., the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Rāshtrakūṭa record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka; had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amoghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amoghavarsha I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarnavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausāri grant⁵ of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-25 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,⁶ the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paithān grant of Gōvinda III.⁷

¹ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 199.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

⁴ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 124.

⁵ The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amoghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, 'The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times.'

⁶ J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XX, p. 135.

⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 199.

⁸ Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 105.

ll. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausāri grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the dust of the words ' *Saahastōyaṃ mama tri-Karkkarājasya trimad-Indratāḥya-sūnō* ' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputraka* *tri-Durgabhaṭṭa*, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausāri plates of 817 A. D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nēmāditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* *Durgabhaṭṭa*. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nēmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahika* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahika* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijnānśvara on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 320, says:—

Sandhivigrahakāri tu bhavēd-yaś-tasya lēkhakah
Svayam rājāṇ samāśiṣṭah sa lēkhēd-rājāsamarāḥ |

Vijnānśvara himself says, ' *Sandhivigrahakāriṇā (jāsanam bhavāt) nēgīva lēnachit.* ' *Yājñavalkya* lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the localities mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. *Nāga-sārīkā* is modern Nausāri, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The *Pārāvī* is obviously the river *Pūrṇā* on the banks of which Nausāri is situated. Of the two villages *Ambāpātaka* and *Sambapura*, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as *Āmaḍpur*, situated on the *Pārāvī* or *Pūrṇā* and about 5 miles from Nausāri. Mr. M. K. Nadkarni, the Subba of Nausāri, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called *Āmapura* according to the local tradition. The river *Vaṅkikā*, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the *Vanki* creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausāri. The only place that thus remains to be identified is *Sambapura*. This village was to the north of *Ambāpātaka* or modern *Āmaḍpur* and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of *Sampur* in *Kamrej Taluka*, since it is 35 miles from Nausāri. It has now probably gone out of existence.

TEXT.¹

[The following metres have been used:—*Anuṣṭup*:—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. *Āryā*:—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indratāḥ*:—v. 23. *Upajāti*:—vv. 5 and 20. *Gatī*:—v. 8. *Pushpāṅga*:—v. 48. *Vaṅkashavilā*:—v. 1. *Vasantatāḥ*:—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Sāntalavikrīḍita*:—vv. 11, 18 and 31. *Srogdharī*:—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

¹ From the original plates.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ । त्रिय \times पदं नित्यमशेषगोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिषिद्धदुष्य² [1*]
जनस्य भव्यत्वं समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुपाचि जिनेन्द्रशासनं³ ॥[११*] स वो
- 2 व्याहृष्टसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [1*] हरश्च यस्य कालेन्दुकलया
कमलं कृतं ॥[२०*] श्रीमीहि⁴पत्तिभिरमुद्यतमण्डलापो धंस्तिश्वय-
- 3 नभिमुखो⁵ रणसर्वरीपु⁶ [1*] भूपण्चिर्बिधुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्तिमो⁷मिन्दराज इति
राजसु राजसिंहः⁸ ॥[३०*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभि-
- 4 मुखो⁹ [1*] सुभटादृष्टासामुवाचितं सपदि येन रणेपु नित्यं [1*] दृष्टाधरेण
दधता मुकुटं ललाटे च¹⁰ कुलं च हृदय¹¹]-
- 5 च निज[च¹²] सत्वं [1४॥*] खड्ग¹³ [1*] करापाकुसुतश्च गोमा¹⁴ मानो मन-
स्तस्मभमेव यस्य [1*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्र-
- 6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे [५१*] तस्यास्त्रजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति¹⁵
रार्त्तात्तिहारिहस्त्रिक्रमधामधारी [1*] भूपा-
- 7 स्तु¹⁶विष्टपटुपानुहति¹⁷कृतज्ञः श्रीककर्णराज इति गोकर्णेश्वर¹⁸भूव [1६॥*] तस्य
प्रभिश्वकरटच्युतदानद-
- 8 न्तिदन्तप्रहारचरिगोर्जिखितांसपीठः [1*] क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपितशङ्खभृजनुजम् द्वाद्-
कूटकनकाद्रिखिन्दराजः ॥[७॥*] तस्योपा-
- 9 र्जितमहसप्तनयद्यतुकदधिवलयमालिन्या[1*] भोज्ञा¹⁹भुवश्चतक्र[तु*]²⁰गृहगम्भीरदन्ति-
दुर्मराजोभूत् ॥[८॥*] काञ्चीशकेर-
- 10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यमी²¹य्यवच्छटविभेदविधानदत्तं [1*] कर्णार्णव²² वल²³भविष्यम-
जयमन्यैर्भुलैश्चिह्निर-
- 11 पि यस्याहसा जिगाद्य ॥[८॥*] प्रभृविभंगमयहीतनिगातशङ्खमयान्तमप्रतिहताङ्ग-
मपेतयत्रं [1*] यो वज्रभं स्वपदि²⁴ दण्ड-
- 12 वलेन²⁵ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०॥*] श्रीसितोर्विपुलोपलावलि-
लसन्नोलोमिमालाजलादाप्रालेयकः²⁶

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Read मन्वय.³ Read "शासनम्."⁴ Read "हिप".⁵ Read "क्षित".⁶ Read "धर्ममुखी".⁷ The central horizontal stroke of *क्षित* is missing.⁸ Read "जीवन्".⁹ Read "विष्ट".¹⁰ Read "गोमा".¹¹ Letters *रार्त्ता* which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate. A *kolapada* above *क्षी* draws attention to the correction at the bottom.¹² Read *मुपानुविष्टप*.¹³ See introduction for the symbol of *Yasthrasipa*.¹⁴ Read "कर्म".¹⁵ Read "मीमा".¹⁶ Read "सहय".¹⁷ [*क्षी*] here is a variant of *क्षु* in other Rashtrakuta grants.—N. P. C.]¹⁸ Read "वल्".¹⁹ Read "सपदि".²⁰ Read "वलेन".²¹ What looks like an ornament is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

140 A

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- 13 लंकितामलशिलाजालानुपाराचलादा¹पूर्वोपरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधैर्यमदं² ज-
गती स्वविक्रमवलने³का-
14 तपचीकृता ॥[११०*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वज्रभराजे क्षतप्रजावा⁴धः [1*] श्री-
क⁵राजसूनुर्महीपतिङ्गुणराजोभूत् ॥[१२१*] यस्य स्वभुजप-
15 राक्रमनिशेषोकादितारिदिवक्त्रं [1*] कृपास्वेवा कृपा⁶चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य
[1१३॥*] शुभतंगतंगतुर्गप्रवृत्तरेणु⁷दृष्टरविकिरण[1*] श्रीसेपि नभो निश्चितं⁸
16 प्राष्टृकालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१४॥*] दीनानायप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही⁹तमजस्रं [1*]
तत्क्षणमकालवर्षं वर्पति सर्वार्थनिर्व्व¹⁰प¹¹णं ॥[१५॥*] र[1]ह्यमा-
17 त्मभुजजातव¹²त्तावलेपमा¹³ञ्जो विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [1*] पानिधज्जालि-
शुभामचिरण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
18 ततान ॥[१६॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातच्छब्द¹⁴ प्रचुरिपुभ¹⁵ये¹⁶र्धममानं समन्तादाजा¹⁷दुहृत्तवे-
रिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंजीभदक्षं [1*] मौ¹⁸र्धस्वज्जारि-

Second Plate: First side.

- 19 वगो¹⁹ भयचकितवपुङ्गुपि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो²⁰ दृष्योधातारिचक्रचयकरमगमदस्य दो²¹इण्ड-
रूप ॥[१७॥*] पाता यच्चतु²²रम्बुराशिरसनार्त्तकारभाजा²³ भु-
20 वस्त्रेया²⁴चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राञ्चाल्यपूजादरो²⁵ [1*] दाता मानश्चदप्रणीर्गुणयतां
योमौ त्रियो भे²⁶त्तमो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा
21 स्थानं जगामामार²⁷ ॥[१८॥*] येन शेतातपचप्रवृत्तरविकरव्राततापात्मलीलं जन्मे²⁸
नासोरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वज्रभास्यस्तदाजौ [1*] श्रीमहोविन्दराजो जि-
22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीत्सूनुरेक र लिताराति तेभक्तुश्चः ॥[१९॥*]
तस्थानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [1*]
23 प्रसाधिताशिप्रनरन्द्रच²⁹क्र³⁰मेण वा³¹लार्जवपुर्व्वे³²भूव ॥[२०॥*] जाते यव च
राष्ट्रकुटतिलके सङ्ग³³तचूडा³⁴म³⁵णौ गुर्वी तुष्टिरथास्त्रिस्रजगतस्तुस्त्रामिनि
प्रत्यहं [1*] [मत्वं*] सत्यमिति प्रगा-

¹ The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sanidhi*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

² Read "देनेदं".

³ Read "हलेनेका".

⁴ Read "बाधः".

⁵ The punctuation mark is damaged.

⁶ Read "ह".

⁷ Read "निश्चित".

⁸ Read "समीहित".

⁹ Read "पला".

¹⁰ Read "भाजौ".

¹¹ Read "सङ्ग प्रसन्नचक्रिचयै".

¹² Read "धर्ममाने".

¹³ Read "रपु".

¹⁴ Read "हीन".

¹⁵ Read "वर्षो".

¹⁶ Read "दपो".

¹⁷ Read "दीर्घण".

¹⁸ Read "रपु".

¹⁹ Read "भाजौ".

²⁰ Read "काया".

²¹ Read "दृष्टः"; the word being at the half-verse end, no *sanidhi* is permitted.

²² Read "वज्रभो".

²³ Read "मानरे".

²⁴ Read "जने".

²⁵ Read "वारत्त".

²⁶ Read "मेनु".

²⁷ *यप* was the word probably intended by the poet.

- 24 सति सति क्षम्याममुद्रान्तिकामासौत्तरे गुणान्तनिधौ सत्वव्रताधिष्ठते
॥[२१॥*] शशधरकिरणनिकरनिभं यस्य यशस्वरुन'याप्रमानुस्त्रैः [1*]
परिणी-
- 25 यत्तनुरक्तैर्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२॥*] हृष्टोन्मत्तं यौर्विजनाय नित्यं
सर्वस्वमानन्दितव'भुवर्गः [1] पादाग्रहृष्टो हरति स्य वेनाद्याणाम्यमस्यापि
नितान्त-
- 26 वीर्यः ॥[२३॥*] रक्षता येन निष्प्रेषं चतुरभ्योधिसंयुतं [1*] राज्यं
धर्म्यं लोकानां कृता हृष्टि'परा हृष्टि ॥[२४॥*] योमौ प्रसाधित-
[समुन्नत]* सारदुग्धौ गामौ'घसन्ततिनिरोध-
- 27 विहृष्टकीर्त्तिं राखीकृतोच्चतट्टपां'विभूतिरुचैर्ध्यातं ततान परमेश्वरतामिहेकाः ॥
[२५॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्यदितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इ-
- 28 ति योजनलामभूतः [1*] त्वागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापकृन्तापिताहितजनो
जनवर्जभोभूत् ॥[२६॥*] प्रिष्वी'वज्रभ इति च प्रदितं यस्या-
- 29 परं ज[ग*]ति नाम [1*] यच्चतुर्दधिमोमामेको वसुधां वषे चक्रे ॥[२७*]
एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो दृष्ट्ये भेदवादिभिरिवाभा [1*] परवत्'जलधिमपारं
- 30 तरन्स्वदोभ्यां रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८॥*] एको निहंतिरसं गृहीतगच्छा मे
परे च'हृष्टो [1*] यो नैवविधमकरोचितं स्वप्रेपि किमुवाजौ ॥[२९॥*]
राज्याभिर्यककलयैरभि-
- 31 पिच्य दत्ता राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां सपिवा [1*] अन्त्यै'हाहृष्टनिभिर्वे'हृभि-
खै'समेत्य स्तथादिभिर्भुजवत्'दवत्प्यमानां ॥[३०॥*] एकोनेकानोन्दुन्दुमहिता-
- 32 न्यस्ताम्यमद्यानपि पोत्वा ता*]निलताप्रहारविधुर्वा' कथा' मा'ज्ञासंयुते [1*]
सञ्ज्ञी[म]य्यचलो चकार धिल्य'सञ्ज्ञामरयाहिणी' ॥' संसीदन्'विप्रसञ्जनसुहृद-¹⁰

* Read 'नदारे'.

* Read 'दनु'.

* Four letters are missing; the missing given is conjectural.

* The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in लौ

* Read कोनिः [1*] काणीकतो' ; *कोनिः being at the half-verse end a sandhi is not possible.

* The letter क, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter ग; between two *khopas*. A small *khopas* above the letter ग, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter.

* Read हृष्टी'.

* Read प्रवज'.

* Read हृष्टः

* Read 'वृष्ट'.

* The letter वृ is repeated by mistake.

* Read 'वृष्ट'.

* Read 'वृष्ट'.

* Read वृष्टः

* Read वृष्टः. The letter वृ, omitted while engraving, is written below the line between वृ and वृ.

* Read 'वृष्ट'.

* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

* Read 'वृष्ट'.

- 33 म्रुपभोग्या भुवि ॥[३१॥*] तत्पुत्रो मते नाकमार्काम्यतारिप्रजे [1*]
 श्रीमा^१हाराजम^२र्वाण्य[3*] स्यातो राजाभवद्गुणैः ॥[३२॥*] अर्धेषु यदार्थता[1*]
 यक्षमभि^३ष्टता^४फ^५लासिलव^६तो-
 34 पेषु [1*] इतिचिनाय परमामसोषवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[*३३] राजाभूतत्पिदव्यो
 रिपुभवविभवोद्वलभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवाक्षिन्द्रराजो गुणिवनतिकरा^७स्तथमत्का-
 35 रकारी । रागादन्यान्वुदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपं सेवमाना राजयोरेव चक्रे
 स[कल*]कविजनोद्दी^८यतथ्यस्वभावं ॥[३४॥*] निर्वाणावाप्तवानामहितहितजनो-
 36 पार्श्व^९माना सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्वराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्मर्त्यतो द्विसंकेभ्यः ॥(1)
 एकाकी दृष्टवैरिस्खलनकृतिसहस्रातिराज्येशया^{१०}इन्द्राटीयमण्डलं
 37 यस्तपन इव निजस्त्रामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[३५॥*] यस्यागमाचजयिनः प्रियसाहस्य
 क्षापालवेपफलमेव व^{११}भू[व*] सैन्य^{१२}मुक्तवो व^{१३} सर्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

Second Plate: Second side.

- 38 वं नावन्दतान्वममरेष्वपि यो ममरेष्वपि यो^{१४} मनस्वी ॥[३६॥*] श्रीकर्क^{१५}राज
 इति रचिरा^{१६}तराज्यभारस्मारकुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ^{१७}र्धः [1*] तस्या-
 39 भवद्विभ[व*]नन्दितव^{१८}भुसार्थः प्रा^{१९}र्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो^{२०}ग्राचीना ॥[३७॥*]
 दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया^{२१} वा सौ^{२२}र्धेण वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [1*]
 एतेन साम्योस्ति
 40 न वेति कीर्त्तिश्चकौतुका भ्याम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[३८॥*] श्रे^{२३}(स्त्रे)च्छाष्टहीत-
 विषया[न*] दृढमङ्गभाजः प्रोदुत्तदृष्टतरा^{२४}ल्लि^{२५}तराद्वकूटानु^{२६}त्स्वातख^{२७}इतिज-
 41 वाहुवलेन^{२८} जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे अधत्त ॥[३९॥*] तेनदमनिलविद्यु-
 चंचलमानोक्त जीवितमभारं [1*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य^{२९}प्रवर्त्तितो व-

* Read "कभिन्नरिपुजने."

* The usual spelling of this king's name is ^१वर्ष.

* Read "सतर्षीष्ट".

* This letter स is superfluous.

* स was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter स between two vertical lines.

* Read "कृत्त".

* Read "निद्र".

* Read "निकरा". A letter first written before नि has been subsequently crossed out.

* Read "हीत".

* Read "पार".

* Read "प्रथम".

* Read "भुसुद".

* Read "सैन्य". सुक्री.

* Read "व".

* Letters ममरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake.

* This letter स is superfluous.

* Read "हीधः".

* Read "वभू".

* Read "पार".

* Read "प्रथम".

* वा is written below the line under स which was originally written after व by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.

* Read "हीधेय". The letter धे is written below the line between धो and य. * Read "लक्ष्मी".

* Read "हील्लिख".

* Read "कूटान्". उरुवात.

* The engraver had first inscribed क्षा, but the medial क्ष stroke was subsequently crossed out.

* Read "वाहुवलेन".

- 42 मंदायोयम् ॥[४०१*] स च समधिगताशेषमज्ञा^१न्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिरुदय-
वर्धनो[क*] इराजदेवकुशमी सर्वानिव यशम^२वध्यमानाद्रूपति-
43 विषया^३यपतिरामपतिरामकूटवृत्तानियुक्तवासावकाधिकारिका^४रिक्महत्तरादी^५कान्
समनुदर्शयन्त्यस्तु वभंविदितं यथा मया श्रीवाङ्कातट-
44 स्थावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापितृरात्मनश्चैत्रिकामुक्तिपुण्यशोभिहृदये^६
श्रीनागमारिकाक्षतलमन्त्रिविष्टाहंशैल्यान[या*]यतननि[वह*]
45 सम्ब^७पुरा^८भ्यमण्डितवर्मातिकायाः खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्मचक्रवर्ति^९दानपूजा^{१०}र्द्ध^{११}त्तया तथा^{१२}
तिव^{१३}ध्वमानचातुष्टयमूलसंघोदयान्वयसेन-
46 मेन^{१४}संचमल^{१५}वादि^{१६}गुरोश्चिथ^{१७}श्रीशुमतिपूज्यपादः^{१८} तच्छि^{१९}श्रीमदपराजितगुरोः^{२०}
श्रीनागमारिकाप्रतिव^{२१}श्चस्वापाटकयामस्य^{२२} उत्तरदिशि
47 हिम^{२३}योगाभिधानां^{२४} द्रापुपापी यस्या^{२५}घाटनानि पूर्वतः श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो
वहः^{२६} अपरतः पूरुषी मज्जानदी^{२७} उत्तरतस्त्वस्व^{२८}पुर-
48 वापिका^{२९} ॥१॥ एवमिव चतुरावाटोपलक्षिता सधान्वहिरस्त्रादेवा^{३०} अचाटभटप्रवे-
ग्य^{३१}स्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः^{३२} आच-
49 म्नाहोर्णवर्जितमरिपव्यंतसमकालीनः^{३३} शिथपु^{३४}शिथान्वयक्रमोपमो^{३५}पभोस्वः^{३६} शकृत्प-
कात्तातीतसंवत्सरगतं सप्तसु विचत्वारिंशद-
50 चिक्रेपु^{३७}तीतेषु वैशाखयोर्णमास्या सात्वोदकातिसमयेण प्रतिधादि^{३८}तोस्यो^{३९}चितया^{४०}
आचार्यस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतर्ह्यतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदि-

* Read "ग्रह".

* Read "सम्बन्ध".

* This letter वा is superfluous.

* The letters क्कि are wrongly repeated.

* Read "दिकान्".

* What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of क्क is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.

* Letters म्म are initial in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambhupura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries.

* After २१ there is a clear *śikrapada*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible; there may have been no real omission, the *śikrapada* being a mistake.

* Read "वह".

* Read "पूजाय" त.

* म्मा is wrongly repeated.

* Read "निवह".

* The word मेन is wrongly repeated. * Read "मज्ज".

* The letter दि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.

* Read "पादलक्ष्मण".

* Read वरहे.

* Read "रुद्राभा".

* Read "दानवो".

* Read "शाना".

* Read यथा वादा.

* Read वदपरत.

* Read "दयुत्तरत".

* Read स्व.

* Read वापिका.

* Read "इवावाट".

* Read "प्रवेशाश्च". The word वापी is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine.

* Read "श्रीवापिका".

* Read "जातीना".

* Read म्मि.

* The letters म्मि are wrongly repeated.

* Read शोभा.

* Read "जतीतपु".

* Read "दादिता । यथा उचित".

* यावापि

- 51 शतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना करणीया¹ ॥ तवागामिनृपतिभिरस्म²हशैरस्मै³र्वा
सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युन्नोलान्यनित्यान्वैश्व-
52 र्वाणि दृष्टाद्यलम्बचंचलम्⁴विन्दु⁵चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम-
नुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [॥*] यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृत-
53 'तमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पं⁶च⁷]भिन्नेहापातकैरुपातकैश्च
संवृक्तस्थादित्युक्तं च भग⁸व⁹]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] यष्टिं वर्षस-
54 हस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [॥*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरकं
वसेत् ॥[४१॥*] विख्याटवीश्वतोयासु शष्ककोटरवामिनः [॥*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते
55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥*] सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलं [॥*]
ज्ञाटकचितिगीरोणा नैकजन्मात्मकं फलं ॥[४३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यज्जाद-

Third Plate: First side.

- 56 च नराधिप [॥*] भहीष्महिमता¹⁰ चैष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनृपालनं ॥[४४॥*]
व¹¹हु¹²भि¹³]र्ध्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिन्मकरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्म-
[तस्म¹⁴] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं
57 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्ध्वेषावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [॥*] लोकचयं तेन भवेदि
दत्तं यज्ज्ञानं गाश्च मर्द्दा च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा
नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मा-
58 र्ययश्च(य)स्तराणि [॥*] निर्ध्वात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु¹⁵पु-
नराददोत ॥[४७॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु¹⁶लोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
जीवितश्च [॥*] अति-
59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनोर्नैर्¹⁷ हि पुरुषै¹⁸परकीर्त्तयो विलीय्याः ॥[४८॥*] यथा
चैतदेयं तथा साधन¹⁹दाता लिपिघ्नस्त्वं²⁰हस्तेन समतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं
मम श्री²¹कर्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

¹ करणी was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial वा mark of कर and the following णी and adding the letters णीया.

² Read 'हस्ते'.

³ Read 'रन'.

⁴ Read लम्ब for लंचलम्.

⁵ Read विन्दु.

⁶ This पं is superfluous.

⁷ Originally पं was engraved, but the medial वा mark was subsequently crossed out.

⁸ Read व⁹.

⁹ Read 'नरा'.

¹⁰ Read 'कान्मुविन्दु'.

¹¹ Read 'न'.

¹² Read द्राघुः. A śikāpada after द्रा¹³ draws attention to the words साधनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two śikāpadas.

¹³ A śikāpada above द्रा¹⁴ draws attention to the letters द्राघुः द्रा, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word द्राघुःदाता between two śikāpadas.

¹⁴ A śikāpada above द्रा¹⁵ draws attention to the letter द्रा, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between द्रा and द्रा.

- 60 म्प्राप्तस्तुतः ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया मन्त्रामन्त्रिविषयप्रतिना नारायणेन
कुलपुत्रकचीदुर्ममदम्पुना ॥ जीवाहुरितविषयो¹ मात्तनं जि-
61 त्मात्तनं [1*] वदन्मन्त्रमैलानां मन्देन कुलिमायति ॥[४८३*] त्रयति जिनीतो
धर्मोऽहो जीविकायवन्तलो नित्यं । वृद्धामणिवि लो[३*]
62 विभाति यत्तन्मन्त्रमाम् ॥[४८४*]

TRANSLATION.

NOTE.—Vv. 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Nashik plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 25, which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinās, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (seven) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*), which prohibits (recourse to) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (i.e. *Mēru*) mountain.

V. 25. Who (i.e. Dhruva) alone here (in this world) appeared as Parameśvara 'i. supreme ruler; ii. god Śiva'; since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛshāṅka (i. a king named Śiva*; or ii. who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes), since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or ii. since he was in the habit of decorating (his consort) Duryā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a son of the Gāṇḍa family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (by his armies) (or ii. who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (when it was lost in his matted hair).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king Ari-Karkharāja alias Suvarṇavaraha who has acquired (the right to the use of) all the (five) musical instruments* and who is the chief of great fortifications, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāshtrapati*), district officers (*Viśayapati*), village head-lords* (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūpa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates* (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders* (who were the descendants of) the (original) colonisers* (of the villages) (*Vāśīkarmakūlarādhīlārā*) and other officers concerned:

* Read *śṛṅga*.

* This refers to the famous *Śaṅkha-ḍṣaṅgi-ṣaṅgi* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

* There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gaṅgarājī whose ruler's name was Śivastira. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Hāhīśāhī of the image of seated Śiva as their *Śaśīkarma*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

* These five instruments were *śṛṅga*, *ḍṣaṅgi*, *śṛṅgi*, *śaṅgi* and *śaṅgi*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

* Since both *grāmapati* and *grāmakūpa* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, probably the former, is to be understood as designating the village head-lords.

* Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

* For the interpretation of *Maṭapara* as a member of the village council, see Allcar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

* The expression *śaśīkarma* is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantidormana. (Ibid. Vol. VI, p. 223.) The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vaṅṅikā,—(the field) called Hiraṇyayāgā (irrigated by) the well of Dhāshu,¹ situated to the north of the village Ambāpātaka, attached to Śrī-Nāgaśālikā whose boundaries (are as follows):—to the east (the field watered by) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pārāvī, and to the north the (public) well of Sambapura;—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered Śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādīn (belonging to) Sāna-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (daily) worship, cooked rice offerings,² and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (cāṇḍīkī), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of Śrī-Nāgaśālikā.

Ll. 48-53. This (field), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (by me) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (the exactions levied at) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (by the donor or his successors while) leading the life proper for a (Jaina) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings, whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (to all the rulers ruling for (a) time being) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (a blade of) grass. Whoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (this grant) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (five) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas:—

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

Ll. 59-62. The donor who has seen (the contents of) this document³ writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (engraving) is in accordance with (the charter originally granted). This is my own sign-manual, of Śrī-Karkkarāja, son of Indrarāja. This (charter) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunder bolt in destroying the mountains, (in the form) of other theories, be (ever) successful.

V. 56. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the chief-jewel of all other religions.

¹ In Gujarat, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Dhāshu.

² Cāṇḍīkī is enjoined in Hinduiism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

³ This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as Śāmanādhīśīpīśā the translation would be 'The (principal) writer (in the secretariat office) of the donor certifies that . . .'

No. 23.—THE CHANDRĀHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : THE KALACHURI
YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BAKERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Baglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at Chandrāhi or Chandrāhe,¹ a small village near the banks of the Sōga close to its confluence with the Banās. It lies in lat. 81° 32' E and long. 24° 18' N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, viz., a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.²

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn³ is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, e.g., *śatrad* for *śatrad* (l. 12) and *-śuram-ājagati* for *-charaṇ-jagati* (l. 16). As regards orthography the following peculiarities may be noticed: *ṃ* is used for *anusvāra* in *kaṇas* (l. 2) and *ākṇasas* (l. 18); consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, e.g., *r-muni* (l. 10), *lārya* (l. 14), *gurū-guru* (l. 23), *śāru* (l. 13), *mukhārā* (l. 18), etc.

The characters belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bihari Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājādēva III*. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *kh*, cf. *khā* (l. 1), the looped form of *th* where the loop is not yet open, cf. *talhā* (l. 1) and the angle at the back of *d*; cf. *amūhādē* (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *v*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *pā* have been used, cf. *phāṇi* (l. 1) and *sphāṇi* (l. 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named Prabōdhasiva who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor Prāsāntasiva. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhasiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.⁴

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrāhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabōdhasiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Prāsāntasiva (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Prāsāntasiva. According to the date given in this inscription the

* Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 f.

* P. E. A. S., W. C., 1821, p. 53.

* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85, No. 1) and above Vol. I, p. 254, footnote 1.

* The *Śaivagana of Tripuri and their Monuments* by R. D. Bakerji (*Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 23), chapter IV, pp. 110-2.

monastery itself was built or completed in the Kalachuri Chōdi year 724 (=972-3 A.D.). Thus Prāsāntasiṃha's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century. The date of another ruin near Chandrāhe is also fixed by this inscription. From verse 7 we learn that Prāsāntasiṃha had built another *śrīrāma* near the confluence of the Śōṇa at the foot of the Bhramara hill. The place is still called Bhramarsen and is referred to by Beglar.¹

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] Samvat 724 Phālgunā śudi 5. For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A.D. The *prāsasti* was composed by the poet Dhārmata, son of Jūka and grandson of Māhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, son of Lakṣmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudāva and was engraved by Nilakaṣṭha at the command of *sūtrādharma* Sūraka.

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandrāhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutshi, President, and Rai Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 and 13 *Sikharipi* ; v. 2 *Mandābrūṭā* ; vv. 3, 4 and 8 *Sardūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5-7, 9-11 and 18 *Prithvi* ; vv. 14, 16 and 19 *Haripi* ; vv. 15 and 17 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 20 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

A.

- 1 Om namaḥ Śivāya || Phapi-śvāsa-śyāmā avanad-amarā-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jatā-
jūṭ-āmbhōḍe nayana-śikhi-vidyud-vilasati | tathā chūḍā-chaandra-dyuti.
- 2 nikara-dhār-śva kakubham kapālānāṁ mālā tulayati sa Sarvvō vijayatē || [1]*
Hansa-śyāni hasita-mahasāṁ sathhatī-śaṅkaraaya sphāri-bhūtā vadanam-abbhūt
- 3 nāga-charma-āvṛitaya | kiñchit-kaṇṭha-chebhavi-kalushitā mōgha-niryān-mrigāṅka-
chebhāyāṁ śva-achchhām sapadi dadhati sampadam vō dadātu || [2]* Chāri-sam-
charaṇa-praviṇa-charaṇa-vyā-
- 4 pāraṇa-ghūṛṇita-kshōḍi-kupḍa-namat-phap-āvara-phapath vidrāṇa-dig-vāraṇam | dōr-
ddanḍa-bhramaṇḍ-akūḍa-chalita-brahmāṇḍa-khaṇḍam mudā bhūyād-vō niviḍa-
- 5 kvaṇḍ-jamarukam Chāṇḍi-patē-tāḍjavam || [3]* Śrīman-Mattamayūra-santatir-
iyam Gaṅg-śva lōka-tīrayam pūyād-yatra Purandarāḥ kṛta-tapā jajṇē
gurur-bhūbhujām | śaḥyasa-
- 6 aya Śikhaśivaḥ śikhi-samō-vi(b)hṛat-tapas-tōjasā dipatvam vinipātī-āndha-tamasō
nirvāṇa-mūrggē sthitaḥ || [4]* Tatō Madhumatī-patēḥ kṛta-mahā-tapa-
- 7 a-sāchayaḥ Prabhāvasiva ity-abhūt-sakala-śaiva-chūḍāmaṇiḥ | anēka-nṛpa-vaṇḍitaḥ
sa Yuvarājadēvāna yas-tapā-dhana-patiḥ kṛtā-charaṇa-pāta-gō-lagnikaḥ || [5]*
- 8 Prāsāntasiṃha-chandramā-tad-anu tasya śikhyō-bhavat-tamaḥ-premathan-ōdyāma-pra-
kaṭita-avarūpaḥ śuchih | va(ba)bhāra-guṇāṁ śriyam kumoda-kulpa-śaivāṇu yaḥ
samujvala-
- 9 yaśaḥ-prabhā-dhavalit-śikhi-śāś-mukhaḥ || [6]* Sa Śōṇa-nada-saṅgamō Bhramara-
śaila-mūlē-tulath priyāla-vana-saṅkul[5] phala-nṛpāla-kand-āśanaḥ | chakā-
- 10 ra viditām janair-muni-sakhaḥ prāsānt-āśramam śva-pāda-pada-paṇḍitibhiḥ pavita-
bhūtaḥ yaḥ kṛt || [7]* Dēv-ōdyāna-gut-ēndra-sachamī mudā gandharva-
vidyādharai-

¹ Cunningham, A. S. I. E., Vol. XIII, pp. 14 f.

² Read *śikha*.

2

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Ouh! Adoration to Śiva. Victorious is that Śiva (Śarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the hissing waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Śiva's body*), flashes the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates all quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (*his*) crest.

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the *hugh* of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon¹ emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lovely Chandi (*i.e.*, Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz.*, *Viṣṇu*) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements of the feet (*of Śiva*) skilled in practising the *chārī* step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight the elephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (*dance*) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*was accompanied by the*) up sound of the *ṭamara*.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious Mattamayūra (*elephant*) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (*elephant*) was born Purandara, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) Śikhāśiva (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the heat of his austerities became a lamp (*lit.* bore the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (*lit.* standing on) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*).

V. 5. After him (*who was*) lord of Mādhanatī came Prabhāvasiva who had accumulated great auspiciousness (*to his credit*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (*and who*) was made to accept the *etā*, sanctified by his feet (*i.e.*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.) by *īvarājadēva*.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple Prāntāsiva, (*who like*) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt, dispel ignorance (*or darkness*), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright forehead who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the fine night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose food, fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*edible*) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and who had sanctified the face of earth by his *loṭastapa*, built an incomparable hermitage, well-known to the people, at the confluence of the river *Śōṇa* and at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered in dense forest of *Priyāla* trees.²

V. 8. Whose fame was incessant going with delight in every (*month of*) Māgha³ in a high tone by Gamaharva and Vidyādhi, in the assembly of Indra in the oriental garden and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śiv played his attention to instrumental music, (*to enable the God to hear his devotee's fame sung*) (*by*) the charioteer of the sun who tossing his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic rō let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. Prabodhasiva, the foremost among all his (Prāntāsiva's) disciples, just as Pandurāma was of the *etā* of Madana (*i.e.*, Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

¹ [Apparently the moon with slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the *hugh*, still the cloud in the vicinity has counterpart in the elephant skin.—Ed.]

² *Bachmannia Latifolia*.

³ [This month being the period the Śiva-rātri festival is particularly named to Śiva.—Ed.]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (and) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (i.e., Kārtikēśa), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or weapons) on exalted kings (or high mountains), who was devoted to (Śiva), the enemy of the mind-born (i.e., Kāma) (as Kumāra is the favourite of Śiva) and who had performed (all) the duties towards the gods (just as Śaśura carried out the daughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods).

B

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the scriptures acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (of religious duties) by living on greens (śāka), roots of water plants (ādlaka) and fruits such as āmalaka, priyāla and as roots (mūla), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (his) boyhood the bank (lit. on the surface of land) washed by the river (Śoṇa), imitating his spiritual preceptor.

V. 12. Who, having obtained greatness and in a friendly manner (or as the sun) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (world) kings (just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the peaks of mountains) (and) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or darkness), who was worshipped by all in peaceful undertakings (just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of the rainy season). What more (to say) ! He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (just as the sun spreads heat over the three worlds).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients of excavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy stones built a wonderful way through mountains, through rivers and streams (as also) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (did) through the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (āśrama) caused the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (growing in it), resembling lightning, (that) of clouds on account of the (dark) bees flying at the sides of main peaks, (that of thunder) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (and that of stars) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śoṇa.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys kiss the lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness ; so other (lower animals), to (natural) enemies, take leave of their antipathy ; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities the life of all becomes peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor, the Prabōdhāśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (matha) (which was white his own fame, resembling the white clouds ; he also caused to be excavated, close to the ain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his preceptor caused to be deeply re-excavated (and re-built) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, in which was excavated by Prabhāntaśiva, at this place, (but which) had become dilapidated out of (the passage of) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkṣita named Māhuka whose fan known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named Jeta the womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhātmaṭa. He composed this praiseworthy composition.

* [The process of road-making described here is strikingly similar adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamising' is known in Hindu India. The word *ṣṭy* must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' of metal and apparently survives in Hindi *ṣṭy* and Bengali *ṣṭy* = a rammer.—Ed.]

V. 19. Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (i.e., Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādrī (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (*lit. lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha.

V. 20. This *prastāvi* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakṣmīdhara.

Inscribed by Nīlakapṭha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

No. 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARI, B.A., MADRAS.

The record edited below was discovered¹ in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Vankoba Rao, the then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vinsagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Komlakambōru² in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra,³ a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Podāgadh, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at Podāgadh by the Duffadar of the Umarhōi Thāna office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription⁴ leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *śaī* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Gaṇḍāa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining *malā* of *Madras*. The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

¹ [Sewall in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. 1 (p. 317) refers to an inscription on the rock in Devanāgarī characters at Podāgadh, which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone doorway referred to in his account, as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishnu temple referred to in verse 3 of the inscription.—Ed.]

² Nos. 286 and 297 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

³ No. 282 of the same Collection.

⁴ No. 283 of 1922.

⁵ For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hirral's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Podigadh hill and village shown as 'Poragath' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhandārigūda which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 55, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vamśasthavila) are Anuṣṭubh. The inscription begins with the expression "Siddham". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [Skanda?varman,¹ son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, and his repopulation of (the capital) Pushkari. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [pāṇamūla or foot-print of Vishnu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *dhāra-dakṣiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Puruṣa (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Viśvadeva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the date of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as the 27th day of the Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) month in the 12th year. Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by, prince [Skanda?varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (*śamāpāti*) Pritibhāgavata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *Syāpati* of the Eastern Chālukya and the *śamābhigrahita* of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānuraḍāsa, the son of Chauḍi, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, viz., Viśvarūpa, son of Aja.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākuṣṭhavarma² which has been assigned by Professor Kielhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.³ and those of the Madhav inscription of Kumāraguṇa of the Mālava year 493.⁴ The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ja*, *tha*, *dha*, *ba*, *wa* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *ai* and *ya* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anuvāsa* is marked by a small round loop in the Tālagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D. The letter *sa* is written without the loop which is found in *sa*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

¹ The name is much blurred in the stampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

² Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Bithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Bithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

³ *Above*, Vol. VIII, p. 34 and plate opposite page 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. XI.

miniature was written after the previous letter and near its bottom, e.g., *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarin* in line 4, etc. The *jihvāmūliya* is employed in one case, viz., in *jananyāh-kṛitā* (l. 4). The *upadhmāliya* is employed in the compound words *pituḥ-pitāmaha* (l. 4), *maḥ-pārthiva** (l. 10) and *(bharta)ḥ-pri*† (l. 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases‡, doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates§ following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (e.g., *vikrama* in l. 2; *vyatikramēd-yō* in l. 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mokkha* (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record of the Nala dynasty hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I. (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them.¶ He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇ.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kirtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the Nalavādi-*cishaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnul districts.‡ The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇ and the Kadambas of Vaijayanṭi were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town Pushkarī mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

TEXT.*

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यतो[त्वे]षा गुणस्तुतिर्ब[हि मा] [1*]
ननु भगवानिव
- 2 जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [१*] श्रीनलान्वयमुक्त्वैष्य विष्णुमन्त्रपित-
द्वियः [1*]
- 3 मृत्युतेर्भवदत्तस्य सत्पुत्रेणान्वसंस्थिताम् ॥ [२*] भट्टामाकृत्य राजर्षि
- 4 शून्यामावास्त्य पुष्करीम् [1*] पितुःपितामहानाञ्च जनन्याऽक्ति(क)तिना [ततः] [॥२*]

* *rēphaddhim* (l. 3), *pūjārtthas* (l. 6), *varvakaḥ* (l. 8), *śāstrjñāna* (l. 8).

† *uripatir-Bhavadatasya* (l. 3) and *dharmadātā* (l. 5); but cf. *pūjārtthas* in the above note.

‡ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

§ Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

¶ Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Darangam No. 1; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 11.

‡ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 161.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¶ From inked stampages prepared by myself.

* It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणान्वसिताम्.

- 5 कृत्वा ध[स्मा]यनेभ्यागानि(मि)दमाकहितेषिणा [1*] पादमूलं कृतं विष्णो [राजा
शो[स्कन्दव]-
- 6 शोणा ॥ [8*] पूजार्थमस्य चैवेह सोदकभृदिच्छिन्नम् [1*] पुनःपाय
पुरं [द]
- 7 कृतारका[म्]¹ ॥ [9*] सवीपभोज्य विप्राणां यतीनाञ्च विमेषतः[] [1*]
[दीनानाम]प्यनाद्यानां
- 8 स सर्वश ॥ [4*] अपवेद्यं भट्टेचेदं सदा करयिष्यन्ति तम् । शो[चक्रटो]-
नपुच[1*]य
- 9 यद्योचित[म्]² ॥ [5*] स्थितिर्देवं पुरो षडा धर्मां स्तम्भे निवे[शि]ता [1*]
यद्येमां ज्ञापय[न्]स्वामाहापात[म्]³ [2*]
- 10 व्यतिक्रमेयो हि महीपते[ः]⁴ श्रिति[म्] कुलाधम[ः] पार्थिवकिस्त्रियम्विवे[त्]⁵ [1*]
- 11 ममन्विद्यादाय [नरन्]दसत्पथम् स वासुदेवाच्च[य]मापूयाच्चिर[म्]⁶ ॥ [2*]
- 12 डादग्नेये नरन्देन माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंश] दिने पुण्ये
- 13 स्तम्भोर्यं [मा]हितस्त्वयम् ॥ [10*] प्रीतिभागवत्[ने]वम् भर्तु[ः]पिय[चा]
- 14 सेनापतिना कल्पिता मानिनेहास्यदुहिता ॥ [11*]
- 15 निखितं [चौ]लिमूलना भक्त्या [जा]तुरदामिन [12*]
- 16 [आ]नेन विश्वरूपेन[ण] निर्गुणेन गुणैषिणा ॥ [13*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (*i.e.*, appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror.*

(Vv. 2 to 4). This foot-print (or sanctuary)¹ was made by the illustrious king [Skanda]-varman, the noble son of king Bhavadatta—who was the foremost (scion) of the glorious Nala family (and) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or was unsettled) and having repopled the deserted (town of

¹ Read शारकम्. (There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as पूजपाद पुर-दत्तमापयन्तःकृतम् ॥—Ed.)

² [Read सवीपभोज्य.—Ed.]

³ The Rithapar plates of Bharattavarman have the expressions चमटभक्ति and सवीपभक्ति (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. Cf. also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).

⁴ This might be restored as महापातकनष्टे.

⁵ [Read [चि]निर्माणनेना.—Ed.]

⁶ [Reading is कल्याणनामि*. One pāda is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two pādas in l. 15 seem to be the second and first pādas respectively of an Anantabala half-verse.—Ed.]

⁷ Compare this statement with the description of Vishnu as "vijaya pati" given in verse 16 of the Vishnu-sahasranama.

⁸ [The word pādamaṇi is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary: see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 103.—Ed.]



Pushkari, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(Vv. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (temple), with (libation of) water and with abundant *dakṣiṇā* & holding (*pura*)¹ for the Supreme Being (*Paruṣha*) to last as long as the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (free) feeding in a *śāstra* of Brahmins, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute.....

(V. 7). This (holding) (shall remain) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble (Chakradīpa)..... as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (of the king) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (of the temple). Whoever causes damage to this (shall incur) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (one) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (god) Vāsudēva.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava (i.e., Vaiśākha) in the twelfth year (of his reign).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (the ordinance) on all sides (i.e., everywhere) by the General Prītibhāgavata (who was) devoted to his master (and it) was composed by Mālin of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*).²

(Vv. 12 and 13). (The edict) has been written with devotion by Jānturādāsa, the son of [Chau]li,³ (and engraved!) by Viśvarūpa, the son of Aja (who is) devoid of qualities (and aspires for good qualities!).

No. 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in Tilakwādā, a peṭā mahāl under Sankhodā, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Narmadā and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kojālikar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,⁴ and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*.⁵ The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named Bhōjadēva, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was Sū(Śū)rāditya born in the family of the Śravaṇabhadrās and who had migrated from Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj). Sū(Śū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadēva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhāvāhana as well as the warriors of other princes. Sūrādityā's son was Jasōrāja who was enjoying Saṅgamakhēṭamaṇḍala.

¹ Though the word 'pura' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmins. The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as 'Brahmapuri' or 'Brahmapura'; see *Ep. Cana.*, Vol. VI, Kadur Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chitaldurg No. 12; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 159; and Vol. VI, p. 202, Text I. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmins.

² This epithet as also *nirpeta* in the next line is prompted by modesty.

³ [Probably Chauli of this record is the same as Challa, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 103].—N. P. C.]

⁴ Vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

⁵ Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jasōrāja of the village *Vāḍahaja* and one hundred (measures) of land in the village *Ghaṇṭāpalli* to a Śaiva ascetic *Dinakara* for the worship of *Ghaṇṭāśvara* (Śiva). The writer of the grant was *Sōhika*, son of the *Kāyastha* *Aiyala* of the *Vāḍahya* family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king *Bhōjadēva*, whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that *Bhōjadēva* mentioned here is the famous *Paramāra* king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for *Bhōja* is V. S. 1076 from the *Bānswārā* plates¹ and the latest is V. S. 1099.² The latest date of *Vākpati Muḍja* is V. S. 1050.³ He was succeeded by *Sindhurāja* and the latter by *Bhōja*, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the *Bānswārā* plates. For *Bhōja*'s successor *Jayaśīṭha*, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his *Māndhātā* plates.⁴ It is evident therefore that *Bhōja* died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that *Bhōja* ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to *Bhōja*'s reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The *Bhōjadēva* of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the *Paramāra Bhōja*. The contemporary *Chaulukya* ruler of Northern *Gujarāt* was *Bhima I*, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the *Lāṭa* country (*Surat* and *Broach Districts*) another *Chaulukya* family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the *Chaulukyas* of *Apahilapāṭana* as may be seen from the *Surat plates*⁵ of *Kīrtirāja* of Śaka 940 and of *Tribhuvanapāla* of Śaka 972. We know also that the *Paramāras* were not new to the province of *Gujarāt* in the time of *Bhōja*. For the two grants⁶ of the *Paramāra* *Śiyaka* of V. S. 1000 recently found at *Haraola* in *Ahmadābād District* and the incomplete grant⁷ of V. S. 1026 of the same king found in *Ahmadābād* show us that that part of *Gujarāt* at any rate was in the hands of the *Paramāras* during the time of *Śiyaka*.

At *Kajavapa* in the *Nāsik District* an undated grant⁸ of the time of *Bhōja* is found which leaves no doubt that *Bhōja*'s power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of *Bhōja*'s defeating the kings of a number of countries including *Lāṭa* and *Gujarāt*. In the *Beṭnā plates*⁹ of *Bhōja* of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in *Gujarāt*. All these indications point to the fact that the *Paramāras* were connected with *Gujarāt*¹⁰ in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king *Bhōja* in *Gujarāt* and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of *Sāhāvāhana* who was among other kings subdued by *Bhōjadēva* with the help of *Śārāditya*. *Sāhāvāhana* no doubt stands for the word *Caḍḍamāna* as the change

¹ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

² From a MS. of *Rājapurāṇa*.

³ From a MS. of *Amitagati's Sūtrāntarāṅgaśāstra*.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

⁵ *Kishore's List* No. 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of *Chaitra*, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

⁹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 323 ff.

¹⁰ In fact I am led to believe that the *Paramāras* had no footing in *Mālwā* before about V. S. 1037, a short time before *Śiyaka* asked *Mānyakhōja* as is known from the *Polgalackhāt-Nāmasālā* of *Dharmapāla*, since the *Pratāpāditya* inscription of *Pratāpāditya Mahēndrapāla* of V. S. 1003 shows that *Mālwā* was governed by a *Pratāpāditya*. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *cha* and *ra* to *ma* is common. The Chāhamānas of Nāḍol were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Mālwa; Chāhamāna Sōbhita, son of Lakshmaṇa is styled lord of Dhārā in an inscription¹ which showed that he had defeated Vākpati Muṇja, the king of Dhārā, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Sōbhita's son, Balirāja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muṇjarāja.² Chāhamāna Agahilla of the same family is said to have slain Sādha, a general of king Bhōja.³ To avenge this defeat and death of his *daṇḍanāyaka* Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Śūrāditya of the Śrāvabhadrā family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanaṇj, it is equally possible that the family of Śūrāditya had migrated from Kanaṇj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihāras of Kanaṇj were sovereign lords of Gujjarāt for some time as is evidenced by the Wadhvān plates of Mahipāla⁴ and the Unā plates of Mahēndrapāla.⁵ In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers⁶ like the ancestor of Śūrāditya founded a principality in Gujjarāt. The name Śrāvabhadrā of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Ustabhadrā family of Śaka Ushavādita's Nāsk inscription.⁷

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhōja, does not contain the usual relief⁸ of *Garuḍa* of the Paramāra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhōja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kājavāṇ plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhōja do not contain the usual *Garuḍa* and *snake* seal of the Paramāras.⁹ It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on Monday, the Amāvāsyā (*śoma-pareṇa*) day of the month of Mārgaśīras in the year 1103 of Vikramāditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D. taking the month as the *Pūrvaṃmāsa* and the year as a Southern *Vikrama* Year, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No. 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

BY N. P. UNARRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTAOMUND.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakshṇavar (Lakshman-Śvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed¹⁰ before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5½" high. The size of the letters is about ¼". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 269.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 68.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 1.

⁴ In a number of plates found of this period the donors are said to have migrated from *Madhupadma*.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 76. [The recently discovered Narwa plates of Vākpati Muṇja contain references to Śrāvabhadrā as a locality from which certain Brahman donors originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmins in the same grant end in—*āditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Śūrāditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śrāvabhadrā, that may have settled in Mālwa.—Ed.]

⁶ Similarly the Kājavāṇ plates of the feudatory of Bhōjadēva do not contain the *Garuḍa* relief and other peculiar features of Paramāra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 &.

⁷ See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 226.

⁸ Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 421; *PRAS.* W.O., 1903-04, pp. 53 f.; *Hiralal's Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Om namah Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The orthography does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *v* and *b* have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur down to Ratnadēva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the princes of the Haihaya lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Laṅkā." In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kaṭṅgarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating **Harīśēvara** or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tummāya. He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala**, **Ratnadēva (I)** and **Prithvidēva (I)**. Verse 6 speaks of Prithvidēva's son, **Jājalladēva (I)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of Savarnapura. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II)** who defeated the king **Chōḍagaṅga**, the lord of Kaṭṅgadēsa. His son was **Prithvidēva (II)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jaṭṭēvara** (vv. 9-10). His son was **Jājalladēva (II)** (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (I) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvi**. Their son was **Ratnadēva (III)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 13. It gives the pedigree of **Gaṅgādharma**, a minister of Ratnadēva (III.) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one **Dēvadhara** belonging to *Kāśyapa-gotra*. His son was **Rājādēva**. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was **Jivā**. They had a son named **Gaṅgādharma** who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadēva (III.). The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gaṅgādharma's virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadēva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gaṅgādharma, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadēva made his kingdom free from all foes. Gaṅgādharma had two wives named **Rānmā (I)** and **Padmā**. The former gave birth to two sons **Prada** and **Jijāka** while the latter had one son born to her named **Khadgamūha**. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gaṅgādharma. He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the **Takṣaśēvar** temple at Kharod where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a *śaṭha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *maṇḍapa* for Śaurs (Vishvū). On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, he constructed a temple of **Ekavīrā** which resembled a *Pushpaka*² (In the forest of **Vaḍada** (var. *Vaḍudē*)³ he built a *maṇḍapa* for 'the enemy of the

¹ *PRAS. H.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 531.

² For a description of *Pushpaka* see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. [The temple of **Ekavīrā** still exists on a hill to the west of Ratnapur—Ed.]

³ Bhandarkar reads *Nāṇḍāḍ* and Hiralal Choudhary

(three) cities', i.e., Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. In the fortrees (*duṇḍu*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Tuṣṭā (=Phuṣṭhi (=Gaṇapati)). He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga (†), Girahall (†), Uluvā and Sēgāḍa (†). Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura and also a *sarva-satī* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *prāśasti* was composed by Kumārāpāla of the Hailaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jalhaya (†). It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātā who was clever in this art. The Kumārāpāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārāpāla, the composer of the Śeṣanarayan* and Mahār* inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the Śeṣaśikhin Balhaya who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikārin*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The date of the inscription is given in the last line as Chēdī samvat 933 without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),* the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. We know from the Benares Plates of Karpadēva* that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kananj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja II and the Chandella Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.* But according to the Amōlā Plates* of Prithvīdēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karpāṣa, Vaṅga, Gūrjara, Kōṅkaya and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.' The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turuṣkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripuri family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (i.e., Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (Śrī) to his overlord Gāṅgāyādēva'.† This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgāyā Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.* The reference to Gāṅgāyā's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Ocharwā Plates of Karpadēva.* Again, according to the present inscription, Kalingarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōlā Plates of Prithvīdēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripuri and the others were made petty chieftains and Kalingarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

* Hiralal, *Inscriptions in O. P. and Dewar* (2nd ed.), p. 122, No. 292 and *PRAS W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

† Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

* See Index to *Inscriptions of Northern India*, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

* Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

* *Ibid.*, p. 301.

* Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

* I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgāyādēva in prosperity.'

* R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kalāpāṇi* and *Gāṅgāyā* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāmāryaya, the father of Vajrabhāta.

* Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. *Suvaryapura* of verse 6 is probably identical with *Sonpur* on the Mahanadi, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bilâs and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bhujabala the ruler of *Suvaryapura* from any other source. *Suvaryapura* is mentioned in the *Sonpur plates*¹ of Kumâra Sâmbhavadêva and the *Jatasinga Dâgri Plates*² of Mahâdevagupta which show that *Sonpur* was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sômarachâl rulers of Triladitya. Only two chiefs of *Sonpur* are mentioned in the *Sonpur Plates*, viz., Abhimanyudêva and Sâmbhavadêva.³ This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gâṅga, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chôḍagaṅga, the lord of Kalinagadîa who was defeated by Ratnadêva II, is identical with the Eastern Gâṅga king Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga. The king Jatâdeva who was defeated in battle by Prithvidêva II is no other than Kâmarûpa, the son of Anantavarman Chôḍagaṅga as we know from an inscription⁴ in the *âsthâna-maṭṭapa* at the Mukhalîngam temple dated Śaka 1070.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jâjalladêva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hirral, were under the impression that Sômalladêvi was the wife of Jâjalladêva II and that Ratnadêva III was their son. No other inscription of Jâjalladêva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jâjalladêva II, Jagadlêva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *jyâgâm-arya* and not *-putrâ* or *-sautâ*. If Jagadlêva was the son of Jâjalladêva the accession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagadlêva was the elder brother of Jâjalladêva and thus the eldest son of Prithvidêva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Prithvidêva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagadlêva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gâṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jâjalladêva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jâjalladêva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagadlêva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hirral. Thus *Tunimâṇa*, the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of *Tunâna* in the Lâphâ Zamindari of Bilâspur. *Suvaryapura*, as has been pointed out already, may be *Sonpur*. *Ratnapura* is the present Ratanpur and *Nârâyanapura* and *Pôrattha* are still known by the same names (the latter as *Portha*) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as *Vanavâḍa* by Hirral, I have read as *raṇa Vaḍa* which may be *Balodâ* near Kharod. If the reading *Sâṇḍarâ* is correct, it may be identified with the present-day *Sendri* between Bilâspur and Ratanpur. *Uluṇvâ* is probably the same as *Ulba* in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

³ E. C. Majumdar identifies this Sômdêva with the king defeated by Jâjalladêva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.). Hirral, however, identifies this latter Sômdêva with the Nâgarachâl king of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a friend of Sômdêva.

⁴ A. I. J., Vol. V, No. 1044.

⁵ [Baloda, 30 miles north of Kharod, must be the *Vaḍa* of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vaḍ*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Taluk in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

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- 21 vijkrājanam-anya cha Khadgasambham-ajjanat [29] Ālōky-ānēna vidyut-tati-
tarahātar-ānāra-tārūnya-(dadhānā) Lakshmin-a — — — m-ēvach cha [j]iṭa-mṛigādṛiśāś
pritiṃ-s[py]-aṅgunānām | — — — k-ā[ptā]yā [tat-punar]dha sukṛitair-(dṛ)jāśa — —
pta-vō(bō)dhād-ānuch-achakrē navinādi sahaja-śubha-ma-
- 22 tir-umapḍapam Bhūṣabharatū [30] Mathāḥ kathōra-kūśhṭh-sughaṇir-atr-aiv-
ākāri dhimatā | dēva-lakṣhṇa-dig-bhāgō nivāsārthan-tapasvinām [31] Kāritar
vistrīta(n) Sauri-mayḍapam¹ paṇya-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādharēya [dharapār-bhū-
shām]-ēv-ātisundarām [32] Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-
- 23 ru prathiyāṁ Pushpak-ōpamam | akarōd-ākavirāva maḍḍapam giri-mūrdhāni
[33] Maḍḍapam vanō Vaḍadē² [Pu]r-ārātēr-vinirmittām | Hara-Hēram-vayō-
chakrē tatr-aiva vīṣa[ka]d[ā]layau [34] Dēvi-Durgā-grihaṁ durgā Ravēḥ
Pah[akā]p[ur]ā | Pōrathō bhavanam Śārabhōra-
- 24 bhramkasham-uchikarat [35] Ratnaparasy-ōdēhyāṁ diśi Turpā-Gaṇapatēr-asan
chakrē | maḍḍapam-aśāśa-vāśchhita-phala-dātur-vighna-hantur-cho [36] ||³
Saras-[Ti]puruga-[grā]mō nirgunah[ā]pi⁴ vihach-āstira(ha)jam | tathā Gurahā-
[grāmō] sphārāṁ pushkarīṇm-āpi [37] ~~~~~
- 25 kṛitam-amalath sarnaija-ruchiram sadā jagat-ōvryam | tēp-āpāham-uru-harim-iva
[U]ḥvā-grāmō asraś-chakrē [38] Gaṇjan-mudja-maḥhavata-chaya-chumvita-vī-
cha-paṇkajām-akarōt | pushkarīṇm-āpi śōbha[na]-Sōḍā[dā]-k[ā]bhīkha-[grā]mō [39]
Mishṭ-ānna-pāna-sampannā[n] sa-
- 26 rvasatr[ā]ṁ vyadhād-asau | Nārāyaṇapurē pushpa-vāṭikām-āpi śōbhanāṁ [40]
Yāval-līlāvatīnām sayana-sarnaija-prānta-sathathō Manōbhār-yāvan-Maināka-
pakṣ-āṇa-chaṭula-chalad-vichi-mālah payōdhīḥ | chandr-ārkan yāval-ōan
gagana-tala-samud[ā]yōtāmānu prabhāta-tā-
- 27 vad-Gaṅgādharasya pravata-guṇa-nidhēḥ sthāiryaśām-ōta kīrtiḥ [41] Dakṣhō
lakṣhṇa-pūrṇa(rṇa)yō kavi-kalā-sarva[eva]-vīrāma-bhū-ahhandab-sundara-vu-
(hu)ddhir-ēdibhuta-matīḥ sūhṛya-Chāpakyayōḥ | khyātō Haihaya-vandābhūḥ
kavi-vṛishā rasy-ānūjō Ja[ha]ga-s-tōn-ākāri Kumārāpāla-kṛitā [ch-ōyad] [42]
- 28 prakāśtir-mumudā [43] Akṣharair-mauktik-ākāśais-tōn-aiv-ālōchi kṛitukṣat | [Nāḍ]-
nāmā samantkiṇṇā śīpa-vijñāna-śālinā [44] Śrēṣṭhīnī Rāhagān-āra
dharmma-karmm-ādhipkāriṇā | kṛitā kulā kalāpājña-jana-sukṛta-vu(hu)ddhinā[45]
Chēdi Samvat 933 [46] Maṅgalam-astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN: A.D. 988.

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription¹ is engraved, along with some other Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantēvarasvāmī temple at Udaiyārgudi, a hamlet of Kāṭṭumappārkōyil, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Āvabādār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānjan. In the inscription, the place is called Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the same as the Viranārāyaṇapuram of Vaiṣṇava literature and our inscription further describes

¹ Read Sauri. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.² The metre is irregular here.³ Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left unscripted.⁴ No. 577 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1920-21*, part II, paragraph 31.

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The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 14'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2' high. The characters employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōla inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla¹, allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in *y* are fully developed; but not so in *v*. Medial *ā* and *ī* are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while *ī* is written exactly like the subsidiary *ā* in *pāṇḍurāḍḍim* and *maṇḍu-māḍḍim* in line 3, and in *śūṣṭe* in line 7. Medial *i* and *ū* are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from *ī* and *u* by loops, the loop indicating length in *ī* being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating *ī* instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long *ī* is best seen in the letters *Śrī* and *Vī* and in *gi* in *taḡḡi* (line 7). The long *ū* is sometimes indicated by the short *u*-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the *ā*-sign as in *maḍai-gaḡḡāḍḍa* in line 2 and *maṇḍu-gaḡḡa* in line 3; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *koḡaḡḡa* in line 4, *maḍuḡḡaḡḡa* in line 5, and twice in *Veḡḡuḡḡa* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter *y* is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramūṛi inscriptions of Parāṇaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla. The *paḷḷi* is not marked.² Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *ṣa* is written in two forms in line 6—*Paḷḷa* and *Maḷḷa*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* is placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *la*'s are placed one above the other.

As regards **orthography**, a tendency to omit *v* is noticed in such forms as *iraga* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of *y* in *miy-pitāgu* in line 3.

The **language** of the inscription is Taitai. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *iden* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*irugaiur*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The object of the inscription is to record an endowment by **Araiyā Bharatayā alias Vyājagajamallā-Pallavaraiyā**, the son of **Nakkay Aravaiyāyā alias Pallavā-Muttaraiyā**, the lord of **Veṅṇaiyūz**. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a **śaṅṅa** before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmins. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1920-21, part II, pars. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 529, 547, 549, etc.

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 128. (While in the Umayyad-Chola plates, the letter *ṭ* is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial *ṭ* in *ṭ*, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the upper right side.—C. K. N.)

² [The *ya* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see *maṣāḥiṭa p-perunguḥ p-peru* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. B. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āḍitya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.¹

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarmān**, a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Saṁhā of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmay....., and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhikāśāsa*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōja 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya' (II. 1-2); the properties² of these three persons and their relatives specified (II. 2-3) were to be taken over³ by Brahma-śrīrājan of Kottaiyūr and Chandrasēkhara-bhāṭṭa of Puḷḷamaṅgalam (I. 4); the Saṁhā (*āṅgaḥ*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (I. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukāḍi Kīlāṅ (I. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa⁴ (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *uḷappirandī* Malaiyandīrāṅ), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *paḍai* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 5) were bought from the *saṁhā* by Bharataṅ alias Vyāḷajajamallan. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḷamāṇi*), two (*vēḷi*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of Mēsha in this year, on a Sunday which was a Pārattādi day, Bharataṅ gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantēvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988, which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājārāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.⁵ The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya', i.e., Āḍitya II, the elder brother of Rājārāja I, and its paleographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakesari of this inscription with Rājārāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakesari in the period after Āḍitya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājārāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōḷa history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājārāja

¹ [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

² See n. I, p. 170 *post*.

³ The expression *peruṇṇāḍam* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as 'peruṇṇāḍam' in the sense of 'nominated'; cf. S. I. J., Vol. III, p. 424, l. 128 and p. 426. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peruṇṇāḍu*.—C. R. K.]

⁴ The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaśāṅga Paṇḍavaṅ-Brahma-śrīrājan. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *s* preceding *va* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rēvadāsa is here called a Kramaviṭṭa and has the alias Malaiyandīrāṅ, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *i-śō-mukhamāṇa* *uḷappirāṇa* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malaiyandīrāṅ of line 2. [The surname 'Malaiyandīrāṅ' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 903-55).¹ Of Āditya II, the Parakāra 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.² He was the son of Parāntaka II Śundara-Chōja, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Śundara-Chōja's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōja. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death.³ This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariṇjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōja ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājārāja. The Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōja I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumōḷivarmaṇ, i.e., Rājārāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it and that Arumōḷi was made the *Puraṇḍya* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōja who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates and other Chōja records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumōḷi as king, Arumōḷi's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumōḷi as heir apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōja was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, viz., that of Ariṇjaya. A certain Madhurāntakan Gaṇḍarādityan is found in the service of Rājārāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōja. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumōḷi having been made the *Puraṇḍya* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumōḷi after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumōḷi preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kshatradharadharādī* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgūḍu plates.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Malaiyapūr* and *Koṭṭaiyūr* cannot be identified without more details. *Puḷḷamaṅgalam* may be the same as *Puḷḷamaṅgai*, a village near Paṇḍipattinai, about nine miles south of Tanjore. *Vennaiyūr-aṅḍu* may be the same as the subdivision of *Vaḷagaram-Rājendraambha-vaḷaṅḍu* in the *Sōḷamaṅgalam*.⁴ If that is so, *Vennaiyūr* must be included in the list of villages in the *aṅḍu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of stampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śri [] Kṣ-Rājakāsariyarmmaṅkko yāḍu 2-āvaḍu Vaḷagaram-brahmadēyam Śri-Viranārāya[ṇa]-chchaturvvdīmaṅgalattu-pperuṅḡuri-pperunakkaḷukka Cha-kravartti-śrīmakkham Pāṇḍiyanaī-malai-konḍa Karikāis-Sōḷagai-ēkkaṅḡu drōḷika- []-ēṇa Sōma[ṇ].....*rumbi

¹ South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Nos. 133, 138 and 144.

² South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴ South-Indian Inscriptions, II Introduction, p. 24.

⁵ The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

⁶ There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first deity followed by *ēṇa*.

- 2 Ravidāsaṅ-āṇa Pañchavan-Brahmādhīrāṇum ivaga-rambi Paramēśvarag-āṇa Irumṇi-
chchōḷa-Brahmādhīrāṇum ivaga-udappiranda Malayuṇḍ'raṇum ivaga-samhi-
mārum-ivaga-makkajidum ivar-brāhmaṇin[āṇ]-pērālum-i.....*raṇattam
- 3 pērappanmāridum-ivaga-makkajidum-ivaga[ukku]-ppillai-kuḍutta māmaṇmāridum tāyōḍ-
udappiranda māmaṇ māmaṇmāridum-ivaga-udappiranda ponga[ai
vēṭṭārīṇavum-ivaga-makkajai vēṭṭārīṇavum-āṇa ivv-āṇaivar [mṇṇi]yum
namu-āṇaikk-urivavāru Ko-
- 4 ṭṭaiyūr Brahmādhīrāṇum Puḷamaṇgalattu Chandraśekhara-Bhaṭṭapaṇyūm para-
ttandōm tāṇga[um]-ivaga-kaṇkāpiyodum-ivaga[]ṇṇavāru namu-āṇa-
kk-urivavāru kuḍiyōḍu kuḷipēṇum vīlaikka virru-ṭṭalattiduga ivai
Kuru[kāḍi]-kīḷu-c[utt]-eṇṇu* i-ppariṇa vara i-
- 5 śrimukhaṭṭin mēppaṭṭa Malayuṇḍag-āṇa* Pāppanechchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavi-
ttaṇum ivaga-magaṇum-ivaga-rāy Periyanaṇgai-chchōḷiyum-i-unnūvaridum-āṇa
nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[ṇṇ]vōḷimaṇgalattu niy-paḷāgai Dēvaṇmaṇgalam-
āṇa paṭṭila nilam śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chchatu[ṇṇ]-vōḷi-
- 6 maṇḍigalattu sabhaiyār-paikkal Veṇṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Veṇṇaiyūr-udaiyāṇ Nakkag-Ara-
vaṇaiyūg-āṇa Pallava-Muttaraiya-magaṇa Barataṇ-āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-
Ppallavaraiyaṇḍ-i-niḷam paḷatnbaḍi iṇḍō-mukkālēy-oru-māvum-agaṇaṇai-
y-āṇum-āṇa i-niḷamum-i-magaṇiyum nūṇṇ-ōṇṇaṭṭ-i*.
- 7 ru-kalaṇḍu poṇ kuḍuttu vīlai-keṇḍ-ivvār-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-
kōyililēy-ivv-āṭṭai Mēba-nāyaru Nāyaru-kkīḷamai-porra Pūraṭṭādi-nāṇṇu
chandr-ādityavat āḷvār-kōyil-muṇbu [Mōvā]yirattagunṇṇuvagaṇa nilaiy-
amabalattu taṇṇir-aṭṭum brāhmaṇan-oruvaṇukku nīḷa[-]
- 8 dam padī-nāḷi nallum-āṭṭaiyaṭṭam-oru kāṇam niṣadam padinaiyvar brāhmaṇar-
unbadaṇṇum-āṇa padigāru ivarṇūy-aiyvar āivaṇḍika[-uḷḷ]avum vaiyṭṭōḷ
Araiyāṇ Bharataṇ-āṇa Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṇḍ i-dha[ṇ]ṇumam
rakahikkigra mahū-sabhaiyār-śrī-pādaṇḍa[-eṇṇ]-talaiṇṇāḷa[ḷ]*]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King Rājakesarivarmān, the order of the Emperor (addressed) to the members of the Great Assembly of Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-pachaturvēdimaṇḍalam, a brahmāṇḍa on the North bank :

* Length is marked by the sign for secondary ā.

* The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.

* A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.

* Cancel the second and next.

* Read "vīḷa".

* See p. 4, p. 167 ante.

* The length of subsidiary ā in nā is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters poṇ and iḷ seem to have been corrected from the original pira and lo.

II. 1-2. Sōmay, his younger brother Ravidāsay *alias* Pañchavay Brahmadhīrījan, and his younger brother Paramāvaran *alias* Irumdichehōja Brahmadhīrījan have been guilty of treason as they murdered Karikūlāśōja who took the head of the Pāṇḍya :

II. 2-4. We have ordered that the (properties)¹ (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyañūriy, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives, of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (*lit.* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law²—these (properties)³ shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained⁴ by Brahmadhījan of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandirāśhāra-Bhāṣya of Poḷḷamañgalam.

II. 4-7. You shall,⁵ in the presence of these (two) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price⁶ and remit (the amount) to the treasury.⁷ This is the writing of Kurukūḷi-kijāy. When this (letter) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz.* Malaiyañūriy *alias* Rēvaḷisa-Kamavittan of Pāppanahēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanañgai-chchām, these lands in the *paṇṇi* known as Dēvañmañgalam in the western *paḍāgai* of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvāḍimañgalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three-quarters and one twentieth (*of a sūli*) and six residential houses,⁸ these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Saṅgha of Viranārāyaṇa-chaturvāḍimañgalam by me, Bharatay *alias* Vyāḷagajamalla-Pallavaraiyay, son of Nakkan Atavaiyāy *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyay, (a resident) of Veṅṇaiyūr in Veṅṇaiyūr-nāḍu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kaḷāṣu* of gold.

II. 7-8. In the month of Mēsha in this year, on the Pārattādi day which was a Sunday, I, Ataiyan Bharatay *alias* Vyāḷagajamalla-Pallavaraiyay, endowed these (lands and houses) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brahmin, who supplies water in the (*swēḍāpa* called) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nilaiyambalam in front of the Ālvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantīvarattu-Bhātṭaraka of this village, may get ten *sūli* of paddy every day and one *kāḍu* in a year,⁹ and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (provided that) among these sixteen¹⁰, five *śvayōgi*¹¹ shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the *mūḍāmbāḍi* who protect this charity (will be done by me) on my head.

¹ The gap after *paṇṇi* (*properties*) and before *yeu* in line 2 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *ma*. Some word like *maṣi* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with: (properties)¹. No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confusion of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*tridibha*) in the reign of Rājārāja III.

² Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

³ [See note, p. 167, l. n. 2—C. R. E.]

⁴ The preverbs 'utpāda' and 'śaṣṭa' are at first puzzling, but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Saṅgha to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood *Kaṣṭha* in its abstract sense. Though *Kaṣṭha* also means 'superintendent,' the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C. R. E.]

⁵ Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

⁶ That *śāḍa* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following: "Nāṁnam viru paṇṇi-kūḷiāṇi-mūḍāyār dāḍa-tāḷatu kīṇṇa viru ścinnuṇam vata ika tōṇṇam kīḍum mūḍāyār dāḍa-tāḷatu vāṭṭu" (No. 553 of 1911); and "Variyūḷṭu poṇ kaḍavar muṇṇiēru iṇḍa puraiyāyāṇu pōṇṇaiyūḷi pōḍa vāṭṭu pūṇḍu pōḍaṇṇa kaḍippōḷṭu iḷḷḷṭu vāṭṭu tavaṭṭa kōṭṭa viru mahā-saṅghāko-khaḍaiyōḷa vata." (No. 379 of 1922).

⁷ 'śāḍa' and 'śaṣṭa' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-off' respectively in the Uttaramēṇār inscriptions of Parantaka I.

⁸ [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. E.]

⁹ See South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 282.

No. 28.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

These plates were received from Palanpur by Mr. Puraṇ Chaud Nahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick ($\frac{1}{2}$ " to $\frac{3}{4}$ ") plates joined together by a ring $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, passed through a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " of which about $\frac{1}{2}$ " of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is $\frac{1}{2}$ " but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh 106½ *tolas*.

The characters of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the language Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* (I) apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujerāt, who was encamped at *Ilā*, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named *Varaṣvādā* to a Mōḍha Brāhmana named *Jānaka*. The boundaries of the land are specified as: "to the east, the way to the village *Vāra-Aṣavallī*; to the south, the village *Pādra*; to the west, the way to *Chhūddriyā*; to the north, the field of *Kāśava* and *Vāṭaṇa*."

The date of the grant is mentioned as the fifteenth of the bright half of Pausa in the *Vikrama* year 1120. It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana purnā* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausa and the *uttarāyana* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Samvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Makara-saṅkrānti* or *uttarāyana* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva. According to Mārutūṅga in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujerāt and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (circa 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhanpur¹ and Maṇḍaka grants² is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala³ temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mārutūṅga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shah temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V. S. 1119⁴ can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Karpadēva is given by Mārutūṅga as V. S. 1120; *Chaitra* *sudi* 3 *Śanau*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.² *J. E. B. S. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 49.³ *Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 43ff.⁴ *Above*, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 137.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhūmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausa and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Kārpa's accession as given by Marutsūka appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V. S. 1131), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Kārpa are those provided by his Navasīri¹ grants dated Śaka 226 and V. S. 1131 (=1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was Kākkaka, the son of the Kāyastha Vaṭṭēvara, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukyas. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vaṭṭēvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhūmadēva and Kākkaka himself to be the writer of the Navasīri¹ and Sūnak² plates of Kārpa. The Dātaka was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navasīri plates.

Of the geographical names, Ilā, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern Ilol, a petty state in the Mahikāṣṭha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending -ol of place names in North Gujarat (e.g., Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of pur, through ur and ul. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausa sudi 15 ady-āha kālā Ilā-
- 2 vānta-simad-vijayi-kāṭakā samasta-rāj-āvali-vitāji-
- 3 sa-mahārājādhipā-śri-Bhūmadēvaḥ svabhujyamāna-Dhāpad-
- 4 hāra-pathakā samasta-rāja-purashān⁴ janapadānā-cha bōdhaya-
- 5 ty-astu vaḥ satividditam yathā ady-ōtvarōyaga⁵-parvaḥ Mahēva-
- 6 ram-abhyarchya pitrō-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yasō⁶-bhivṛddhaya⁷ Mōjha-Brā-
- 7 hmaṇa-Jānakāya Varnāvādā-grānō(mē) Pāṭṭ-satka-kāhētrō | Vi-
- 8 vaka-satka-kāhētrō cha iti hala-trayaaya halakā 3 bhūmī⁸

Second Plate.

- 9 sāsanā⁹-ōdaka-pūrvam-samābhil⁹ pradattā⁹-syāntā-cha⁹ pūrva¹⁰
- 10 sām(syām) Vata-Aṇavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakṣhiṇasyām grāma-Pādrām | pa-
- 11 echunārām Chhīndriyālā-mārgaḥ | uttarasyām Kāśava¹¹-Vāṇapayōḥ
- 12 kāhētram-iti catur-āghāḥ-ōpalakāhūyāḥ bhūmēr-asyāḥ pa-
- 13 cipantimnā kēn-āpi na kāryā | lū(kh)itam-jalam sāsanam kē-
- 14 yatu¹²-Vaṭṭēvara-suta-Kākkakēna | Dātakō¹²-tra mahā-sād-
- 15 dhivigrahika-śri-Bhōgāditya iti¹³ śri-Bhūmadēva¹⁴ ||

¹ J. B. S. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 202 ff.

² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *parashān*.

⁵ Read *ōtvarōyaga*.

⁶ Read *gāḥ*.

⁷ Read *bāḥ*.

⁸ Read *kāśava*.

⁹ Read *gāḥ*-cha.

¹⁰ It looks like *da*.

¹¹ Read *Kāśava*.

¹² Read *yathā*.

¹³ The symbol after | either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of ||

¹⁴ Read *Bhūmadēva*.

2 वासिने श्रीमहि रुद्रि रुद्रक संनम्र राजावली विराजि 2
 तमदा राजा विराजु श्रीमद्वः सुसुसु नाना लया
 4 दाने पप्रकि संनम्र राजे पुन वा न न पयथा तावय 4
 त सुतः न विदिने य वा अथातु सो यण पर्वणि मद्रु
 6 र मसा र्थि विवा रात्न नथ पुण्य ग सा रुद्र उ यत्ना द्दु 6
 द्वा पजा नकाय वरुण वा डया न पाद स काल विवा
 8 वक स रुद्रि रुद्र वः विद ल वय सा द ल 3 न मी 8

10 आ क र्णं स्रजं वलिशामं मारुतं दक्षिणं स्यात्ताम पादौ प 10
 शिवायं ली दित्यामो मारुतं उ उ पंथा कशव वा न लाया
 12 त्वमिति च त्रयाया वि प्रल्लहितायाः न मरुताः प 12
 विद्यं वना कतायितवां यो लिस्त्रिभुवि दंशा स तं ह्ना
 14 य उ व द थ न सु न क क किव ह त का ३ म दा सा 14
 त्विपदिक श्री सा दित्यं श्रीरुम दे वा ॥

No. 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 95 tolas.

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli¹ grant of the Pallava king Vishnugopavarman and the Pikira² grant of Simhavarmam of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Sityamaṅgalam³ excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarmam I and the Uḍjavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas⁴, we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uḍjavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.⁵ Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya⁶ that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanara country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṅga Plates⁷ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726⁸. It closely resembles the characters of the Ālupa inscriptions of Udiyāvaram⁹ in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovalavettu grant¹⁰ of the Western

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 20.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 100.

³ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, l. n. 6.

⁴ Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. I, p. 3.

⁵ Dabrowa, *The Pallavas*, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishnukundins.

⁶ *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, l. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

⁷ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 120.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.

¹⁰ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.

Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710¹ and who began to rule, according to the Dāvarahalli plates², if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Anṅigeri inscription³ of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kirttivarman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *aṅka* (ll. 3 and 4), *āraṇḍavara* (l. 7), *aṅka* (l. 14), *āraṇḍa* and *āraṇḍa* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Arīda* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *ṛ* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Idarṇa* (l. 13), in *ṛa* (l. 16) and *ṛaṣ-para* (l. 17). Initial *ṣ* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *i* is distinguished from *ī* by a small loop in the circular sign (cf. *Lakṣmī* with *nīrṇa*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways; when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (cf. *puruṣa* and *gupa* in line 3). In medial *e* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talakattu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Ka* in *Kaṅka*, l. 2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ī* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *ṣ*, *j*, *ḍ* and *ḷ* which along with *ḷ* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *n* which occurs only once in *ṇakappa* (l. 12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (l. 2), *jana* (l. 4), *nāṇa* (l. 6), *gōraja* (l. 8), *jamoṣi* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *pejaraṇi* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāḥu* (l. 5) and a second time in *boḍa* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *ripula* in line 4, *tal* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.⁴ But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates⁵ of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Boppana Plates⁶ of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍa* of *paḍuvappa* (l. 12) and *ḍe* of *maḍe* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *paḍa* of *Chandamahāsena* (l. 5) and *paḍa* of *Karavipṇam* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *paḍ*".⁷ The Dravidian *y* as well as *j* are represented in the record, the former in *āraṇḍavaraṇi* (l. 7), *Naydalge* (l. 13), *nīrṇa*, (l. 14), *nāṇapattana* (l. 15) and *āraṇḍa* (l. 17) and the latter in *kaṇi* (l. 11), *Peramaḷe* (l. 12), *Gōrapāḷi* (l. 12), *ajide* (l. 17) and *ajidara* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *ṛa* (l. 16) and *pejaraṇi* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

¹ Ibid., 1918, p. 42.

² Ep. Carn., Vol. IV, pp. 223 ff. and plates.

³ Below, p. 204.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 41.

⁵ Above, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

⁶ From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. E. N. Dikshit.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII, p. 203.

Mantrawāḍī¹ and Sirūr² inscriptions of Anūghavaraha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Appigeri inscription³ and the Kēndār Plates⁴ of Kirttivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription⁵ of Krishṇa I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Kanarese. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhāgumān* (l. 9), *idān* (l. 17) and *Vāraṇasigumān* (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Pattadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II⁶ in which we find *śyāgumān* (l. 2), *idān* (l. 8) and the Haddāni inscription⁷ of Maṅgalēśa which has *itodān* (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is *on* or *an*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *a* as in *glārajange* and *Pappārange* (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives *namerānge* and *apāpange* found in the Udiyāvata inscription⁸ of Raṇasāgara and Śvetaśāhina, and *mādharyange* (l. 5) in the inscription of Kappu-Arabhatta of about the 8th century at Haddāni.⁹ In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *n* takes the place of the dental *n*¹⁰ (cf. *Dhurejānge* in the Udiyāvata inscription of Prithvīśāgara¹¹). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kāraṇapōṣṭhā* in line 9 and *Nēṇḍalagēṣṭhā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription¹² of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf. *Porigēṣṭhā*, *maṇḍapēṣṭhā*, etc.) but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi.¹³ The peculiar forms *radagavēṣṭhā* (l. 11), *paduravēṣṭhā*, *teṭṭakavēṣṭhā* (l. 12) and *mūḍavēṣṭhā* (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ge* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *appenge* (l. 8) and *ajōṣorō* (l. 18), with which may be compared the words *appenge* and *enōḍu* in the Lakṣmīśvar inscription referred to above and *uḷḷḍage* and *parāṇiṇḍorō* of the Pattadakal inscriptions of Vikramāditya II.¹⁴ The adverb *uḷḷḷipināṣ* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation¹⁵. The word *kufanī* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhūṭi-ānubhaktam* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhūṭi-ānubhāgam* of the Lakṣmīśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāraṇāṣī*, etc., occurs

¹ Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201.

² Below, plate facing p. 206.

³ Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162.

⁴ *IBID.*, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

⁹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19.

¹⁰ According to the *śūtra anubhaktarthyānubhāgānubhāga-pāreṇa-pāreṇa* of Nāgavarman's *Haddāniśāhina* R. Narasimhaṭṭar's edition p. 28, śūtra No. 67, the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anubhāga*. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 20.

¹² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

¹³ It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarman in the *śūtra dīrgha-ādīśānta-śāntāyā gatiśāntam* (*Bhāṣāśāhina*, No. 57) and *śāntā-śāntāyā gatiśāntam* (*Ibid.*, No. 68) but the examples he offers to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, viz., Harigāla and the poet Bhuvanakaṇṭha.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

¹⁵ On this word Rao Bhaṭṭar R. Narasimhaṭṭar has kindly written to me as follows:—"Usually we have the adverb *uḷḷḷipināṣ* but here the form is *uḷḷḷipināṣ*. May it be for *uḷḷḷipināṣ*?"

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpālādēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchi who continued to rule till the Chōla King Aditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 8th century A.D.¹ The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchi and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Nolamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chandamahāsēna, the father of Gōpālādēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chandamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāḥavāna and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.² A Chandadanda of Kāñchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.³

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chandamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Tishvākus⁴, probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Kṛishnavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess⁵ and Mṛigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".⁶ On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab⁷ but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *śiṛṇa* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpālādēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chandamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpālādēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kirtivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 737, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛishṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by "transforming into a deer the great bear" which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.⁸ Since Kṛishṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates⁹ and 775, the date of the Pimpri plates of Dhāravarsha,¹⁰ the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

¹ *J. A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 34.

² No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chandamahāsēna who was the king of Avantī and father of Vāmanaśatā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

⁴ *Ep. Carv.*, Vol. XI, pp. 161.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 12.

⁶ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

⁷ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 294 and 295.

⁸ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part B, p. 391.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegunda can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Sarāvatī. Paramaḥ has probably to be identified with the modern village Honavā which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Tanvaḥ may be the same as the present Tumballi, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ Svasti [1*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prābhavī(śrī)-vallabha Pallava-
2 va-rōja-Gōpālādēvaśya Kaikōya-vana-śābhar-śādhata-pradhāna-pu-
3 rāḍaśya anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛta-prasēva-lakṣmī-nivā-
4 sa-vahana-ethahava anēka-rupa-vipula-śātra-jana-prabhaṇjana ka-
5 ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayāya Chaṇḍamahā(ā)sēna-puṭraśya Payve-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 gandu-par-śivaraśya Pallava-rājēna dattaḥ¹ [1*] Maṇtri-purohita-śrīkara-
7 vamaṇa śāstravarṇaḥ aṇṇūrvavarṇaḥ sahitam tasmā prasāda-parāva-
8 pponḡa Ārila(Hārita)-gōtrajane Simgitale-Panyāraṇḡe Kāsaṇpa-
9 ḥṛīḡ sama-lūḡgumā candra-śūryar-aḡḡappinaḡ sarva-viṇudḡha-ra-
10 ḡṇam Gōpālādēva(ḡ)-koṭṭaḡ bhukṡ-ānubhukṡaḡ satat-īḡḡḡ [1*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 11 Maṇa-dāṇaṇḡ Palage-gaṇṡaḡ modai-āḡe koḡṇiyuḡ vaḡagaṇṡā śme-
12 Paramaḡ paḡḡavaṇṡā śme Tanvaḡḡ Ōḡcapāḡḡ teḡkkaṇṡā śme
13 Nēydaḡḡeṇṡā śrī mūḡḡaṇṡā śme īḡḡeṇṡaḡ vaḡaga-
14 ḡḡā nīḡḡeḡa ॐ Koḡḡaḡḡe paḡḡavaḡ arḡḡam kāṇṡaḡḡḡin-arḡḡam
15 vāḡai-arḡḡam kama-pāḡḡaḡ nīḡ-īḡḡai-śeṡa(ḡḡu) koḡḡe ḡāḡḡaḡ pa-

Third Plate.

- 16 ḡeṇṡaḡ meṇṡa(ḡḡu) mūḡḡe jaṇaḡḡi eṇḡa ॐ Iḡa Gōpa(ā)ḡadēvaḡ da-
17 ṡi itaḡ-param-ūḡḡa-āḡḡaḡ ḡeṇṡaḡ bhūḡḡi aḡḡa-
18 ka(ḡ)ṡṡamūḡ Vāṡḡāḡiyuḡḡa-āḡḡeḡ lōkaḡḡaḡ saḡvāḡ [1*]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-5. Hall! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpālādēva *alias* Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikōya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (goddess) Lakṣmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chaṇḍamahāśēna and the lord of the city of Payvegunda.

LL. 6-10. Gōpālādēva, attended by his minister, the purohita (family priest), the Śrīkaraṇḡa (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (maḡḡaṇḡaḡ) and the six-hundred (ḡūḡa) granted, free from all opposition, to Simgitale-Panyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpālādēva's) favour the equal share (i.e. half) of the village Kāsaṇpaḡḡi (to be enjoyed) as long as the sun and the moon exist. [This estate] was in [his] continued enjoyment.

¹ Read Pallava-rājāya dattaḥ.

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

SEAL



THREE TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Ll. 11-14. (*The portion granted was as follows*) :—The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (the place called) Palage-gayta. The northern boundary (*of this was*) the (village) Poranaśa, the western boundary (consisted of the villages) Tayvalli and Gārapāli, the southern boundary (*was*) the embankment of the (tank called) Neydalgeṇe and the eastern boundary (*was*) the lake on the north of (the hill called) Iḍevetṭa.

Ll. 14-16. (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *kolaguppe*¹ and *paljavasi*, one-half of *kāna-sappa* and one-half of *śāra* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *kāsa* (= *kārahāpāna* U).....² and a pair of eight *māḍas*.

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gopāladāya. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benāres.

No. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

By D. B. DEKABRAK, M.A.

A.—Bantia Plates of Dharaśena II (Valabhi-) Śaṅṛvat 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, I found two impressions of two plates of a Valabhi grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Valabhī H. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school-master of the village Bantia, in the Bāntwā pīlāḍi in the south-west of Kāthiawār, in 1904. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 27 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12½" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The characters are those usually used in Valabhi grants. As regards orthography it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharaśena (ll. 15) instead of Dharaśena as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of *Jāṇasāyī* and *Upadāyī* are used only once in ll. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word *śāra* (or *śatā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *śaḥubhī-rasaṇḍā* in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, viz., Valabhi from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maṭṭaka family from Bantārtta, the founder, to Dharaśena II, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical descriptions of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharaśena II. The donor is a Brāhmana named Dēva-datta, of *Śāpālīya-gāra* and *Maṭṭrayāyīya-Sākhā* (l. 20).³ The property granted consists of a village named Bhajjaka (or Bhadraka) *patra* (des.) in the northern part (*uttarapatti*) of *Kaṇḍiṇyapura* in the *Surāṣṭra* (ll. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmanas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharaśena of Sam.

¹ For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.

² The meaning of *kāsa* given here is not clear.

³ The place of residence of the Brāhmana is not mentioned.

332¹. The grant was written by Skandabhata, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dātaka was Chitrkhara (l. 32). The date of the grant is the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (the Gupta-Valabhi) Samvat 254 (l. 32) when there was a solar eclipse (Sūrya-ṣparśa l. 22).

Both the Dātaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants² of Dharaśeṇa II of Sam. 332. In his grant of Sam. 269 however the Dātaka was a different person.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grant it is well known that Valabhi is modern Valā in Kāthiāwār. The village of Kauṇḍinyapura can be identified with Koḍinā in south Kāthiāwār. The village Bhaṭṭakapat(ḍ)ra in the Surāṣṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dharaśeṇa II as many as twelve grants are known; seven³ of these are of Sam. 252, one⁴ of Sam. 269, two⁵ of Sam. 270 and the remaining two⁶ being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Sam. 254. Though as many as 5 grants were issued by Valabhi kings on the amāvāsya-day (mostly on the amāvāsya of Vaiśākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record. According to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, part I, pp. 230 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (i.e., Vaiśākha according to the *Pūrāṇamāta* calculation) on 19th March 573 A.D. which may be taken to be the date of the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 श्री लक्ष्मि [1⁸] वलभीतः प्रसभ-⁷

15 पालिवन्धोः परममाहेवरः श्रीमहाराजधर्मेन्द्रयन्त्री सन्निविद्युज्जक

17 वामदे सुराष्ट्र

Second Plate.

18 कौण्डिन्य[पुर]उत्तरपदे भद्रकपच(द्र)सामकोद्वह

20 मैत्रायणिकसत्रज्ञवारिमाण्डित्यसमोववाहणदेवदत्ताय वलिचरुवेष्टदेवाम्निहोचा-
तिधिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-

21 ना क्रियाणां समुत्कर्षणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कवसरिचिति(तिष्ठति)समकालीनः पृथगौवा-
न्वयभोज्यः पूर्व-

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 80.

² See n. 3.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XV, p. 187; VII, p. 68; VIII, p. 301; XIII, p. 160; *Sk. and Pal. Inscriptions of Kāthiāwār*, p. 25; *Annals of the Bharatpur Institute*, Vol. IV, pp. 35 f. and Above Vol. XI, p. 80.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), p. 66; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 70.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 24 and 21.

⁷ As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Sam. 262 (Above, Vol. XI, p. 80) only the most important portion is given here. It may be noted that the names of Bhaṭṭārka, Dr̥ṣṇadīpa, Dharaśeṇa, Bhaṭṭapada and Guhaśeṇa, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

⁸ Read श्रीदेव.

22 मुञ्चमान[इत्येव] सूर्योपरानि उदकसम्बन्धेन ब्रह्मदेयो निवृष्टः

31 दिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
निश्चितं सन्धिविषयविशुद्धतत्त्वान्दमटेन ॥

32 स्रष्टुः मम महाराजदोषरसेनय ॥ इ चिन्तितः सं २०० ५० ४ ।
वैश्वः व १० ५ ॥

B.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III.—[Valabhi.] Sarhvat 304.

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhavnagar in Kāthiawār. Through the good offices of Prof. Naraināhaprasād Bhatta of the Dakṣiṇāgāmrī Bhavan, Bhavnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The plates are two in number each measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhi plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhi seal, are missing. The characters are those usually found in Valabhi grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, *Kṣāṭaka-prasāda* from which the grant was issued by Dharasena III, the son of Khamgraha, who was the younger brother of Śilāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhāṭārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasena III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasena II of Sam. 310*. The grantor king bears only the epithet *parama-mahēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitravāsaka, son of Brāhmaṇa Viśvavyāsa, of *Ātrāya-gotra* and a follower of *Ātharva-Vēda*, resident of Hastavāpra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following:—

(1) 100 *pādāvaras* of land called *Kōṭikā*, ploughed by Kuṭumbi Gōmāyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākarakūpa in the Hastavāpra-*ādhya* in the Śurāśṭrā-*ekāśya*. The boundaries of the field are: to the south, the village cattle-truck; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūṭikā (with that of the village Amākarakūpa); to the east,² the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālāsika (†) of the Kuṭumbina Chārabhāṭaka and Chandraṭaka, as well as the field belonging to Karṭaka in the north of the Rōhikāka-*māla* adjoining the *Arishṭijikā-ekāśi*.

(2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbi Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*paśāka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakṣiṭṭi (i.e.,

* The usual laudatory verses and injunctions.

² Read *āśya*.

† It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhāṭārka and Guhasena are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 175 and J. B. B. S. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. I, p. 24.

² The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. Cf. above Vol. XVII, p. 104.

³ It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land 1), to the north of the field of Khudjaka, to the east of the field of Nappuraka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhadraka (with that of the village Dabhaka).

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pāṇḍaras*, dug by Kuṇḍab Kapārdiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prachikāḥ*) the Khaḍḍari well, to the north of the field of Somaḥ and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Dabhaka.

(4) Similarly in the village Hastipraka in the Śikṣāśikā-śālā in its southern quarter seventy superfluous (*ulbaṇa*) *pāṇḍaras* of the field of Kuṇḍab Nāgila, to the west of (the temple of 1) Śaḥāśikā . . . (i.e., goddess Bhavāntī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khachchabhaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sanvira, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prachikāḥ*) the well called Śiridraha.

The Dātaka, who executed the grant was the prince Śaṇḍa Śāśādiya and it was written by Vastabhāṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhi) Samvat 304 and the sign-mural (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Samvat 292,¹ the latest date of Śāśādiya I and 319,² the earliest date of Dhruvasena II-Bāḥādiya. Although we know that two rulers (viz., Kharagraha I and Dhruvasena III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers³ and partly fills up the gap existing between Samvats 292 and 319.

The Dātaka of the present grant, viz., Śaṇḍa Śāśādiya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasena II-Bāḥādiya. The writer Vastabhāṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śāśādiya-Uthamādiya beginning with the year 289 and also in the grants of Dhruvasena II-Bāḥādiya at least up to the year 313. From Samvats 330 to 339 his son Skandabhāṭṭa succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Abahla the son of Skandabhāṭṭa. We know that another Skandabhāṭṭa (probably the father of Vastabhāṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Ouhastana beginning with the year 246 and in all the grants of Dhruvasena II from 252 to 270 just before Vastabhāṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following places are mentioned in the record: **Surāṣṭrā** mentioned as a *viśaya*, **Hastavapa** mentioned as an *āḥṭa*, **Kāṣṭhaka** mentioned as a *paṭaka*, **Śrāvāṣṭāka** and **Arāḥa** (*Arāḥa*), mentioned as *śālā* and **Amāḥāṣṭāka**, **Dabhaka**, **Bhadraka**, **Hastipraka** and **Chūṣikā** all these mentioned as villages. Of these **Surāṣṭrā** is the old name of the Kāthiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day **Surāṣṭra** denotes only the southern part of Kāthiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāthiāwār was once included in **Surāṣṭra** since **Hastavapa**, which is modern Hāthap⁴ in Bhavnagar State is said to be in **Surāṣṭrā**. **Kāṣṭhaka**

¹ Above, pp. 117 ff.

² *Jad. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

³ Very recently Mr. Cohen, the present Curator of the Rajasth Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Samvats 297 cf. *Asi. Rep. Brit. Mus.* 1931-32, p. 7.

⁴ *Jad. Ind.*, Vol. LIV, App. p. 42.

which is mentioned in the grants of Sam. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kāṭhīwāḍa, 80 miles north-west of Porbandar.¹ The other places cannot be identified.

The expression *Khātaka-pradeśa* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradeśa*) the city of Khātaka. The use of the word *pradeśa* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk² grant of the year 260 as *विजयस्कन्धारादलभोप्रहारहोस्वासकात्*. It is also found used in a Gujara grant³ of Śaka 417 as *भरकण्ठप्रहारवासकात्*. In fact, the use of *pradeśa* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāthiawāḍ to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धारादलभोप्रहारहोस्वासकात्
समपञ्चमण्डलाभोगमंसक्तप्रहार⁴

Second Plate.

- 25 निखिलपतिपञ्चदशोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूताल्लकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-
भिनिन्दितमासनः पर-
26 ममादिष्ठः श्रीधरसेन × कुमली सर्वानिव सदासंवध्यमानकाशमाज्ञापयत्यसु वो
विदितं यथा मया मातापितोः
27 पुण्याभ्यायनाय हस्तावप्रवास्तुध्यायेयमगोवाक्षर्षभसन्नचारिणे ब्राह्मणविश्वयशःपुत्र-
ब्राह्मणमिषयमसं सु-
28 बाह्याविषये हस्तामाहारि अमाकाररूपयामि पूर्वोत्तरसीमि गोमिथककुटुम्बिकट-
कोलिकाधेनपादावर्त्तयतं यस्यावाटनानि
29 दक्षिणेन घामयोसरपवः अपरतवृटिकायामसीमासन्धिः पूर्वतः पाषाणव्यलिकाम-
स्तक(क) उत्तरेण त्रारभटकचंद्रवककुटुम्बिकेचं
30 पालशिकं तथा अरिष्टिज्जिकास्यसोपत्यासवरोचिडकमानादुत्तरतः अरोरकस्तकेचं २
तथा कालापकपथके डभकयामि
31 उत्तरापरसीमायां कपदि(हिं)यककुटुम्बिकटसीता अवल्लपिठेवादपरतः खुडुवदेवा-
दुत्तरतः मण्डपकवेवात्पूरुतः मडामक-
32 सोमास्तन्वेदक्षिणतः तदात्रैव यामि पूर्वदक्षिणसीमि कुटुम्बिकपरिदिकाल(कतुं)कल्लटा
अष्टादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी-कल्लुरि [वापी]

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 237.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 22.

⁴ For the portion II. 2-34 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates of above, Vol. VIII, pp. 100 E., 100 F.

- 33 प्रचीडादाः[*] अपरतः शौककचेववदादुत्तरतः खिलपादा-पूर्वतः इभकाडे पुराण-
कगामिमास्मोद्विषातः तदा सो[रावा]टाका[क]
34 स्वव्यां हस्तिहृदकपाभे दक्षिणभोगि नागिलककुटुम्बिचेचोद्वनपादावर्ता सततिः
सामोणनिमित्तगङ्गिकाव्या[परतः]
35 खञ्जव्यचेवादुत्तरतः मौवीरकसीमासन्धेः पूर्वतः सेरिद्रहवापीप्रचीडामथ्यादाया
दक्षिणतः एवमेतद् सोदङ्ग¹
42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोच राजपुत्र सामन्तगोलादित्थ ॥ निश्चितं चेदं सन्धि-
विग्रहाधिष्ठतदिविरपतिवच द्विना ॥ सं ३०० ४
43 साध श ० स्वहस्तो मम ॥

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

By V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription¹ published below is engraved on the south wall of the *mapigal* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarésvara temple at Pallavarāyappēttai near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the Tamil language and script of the 12th century A.D. Orthographical peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-kottu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyir* meaning 'palace' and *kottu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'² The word *apamōḍa-neyyom* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *ṅaṅai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Mēṇ-ṇēḷ* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundāṅṅai* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uṇṇari* (l. 23) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uṇṇari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājakesari-varman Rājādhirājadēva (II) and begins with the words '*kaṇal-sūṇḍa*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The object of the record is the grant of an *uṇṇari*

¹ The portion ll. 35-41 contains the usual privileges accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

² Registered as No. 453 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mysic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 97, but the readings and the interpretation given there requires great alteration.

³ [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary.—C. R.E.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirgambalam-Uḍaiyāṅ Perumānambi alias Pallavarāyār** of Kāṅgai-Kulattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyār, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājārāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōḷa succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyār brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōḷa king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulasekhara. Pallavarāyār's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulasekhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyār, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṅ Ammayappaṇ alias Pallavarāyaṇ** and the final grant of an *ujvari* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōḷa king Rājārāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirūl-Perumāl**, the son of **Nēṟiyuḍai-Perumāl** and the grandson of **Vikramaśāḷadēvar**, residing at Gaṅgaikondaḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājārāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*piḷḷaiṇal*)¹ were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyār escorted them to Rājārājapuram along with the harem² from the stronghold at Ayirattal. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne **Edirūl-Perumāl**³ under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uḍaiy-kōṭṭam* and the *nāḷu* in the fourth year of installation.⁴ Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

¹ The common term *piḷḷaiṇal* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *per-māḷḷal* (l. 21).

² [If the daughter of Pallavarāyār, who is described as 'the wife of Rājārājādēvar with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *ṇḷi* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājārāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyār could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the form or king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grand-children.—Ed.]

³ There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

⁴ No. 337 of 1914 from Majattukōyil in the Palakkōttai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Śvātī', corresponding to A.D. 1183, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kishore has fixed the date of accession of this king between 25th February and 30th March 1183 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, i.e., in 1180-81 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1181-82 and the Majattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Chittoor district (No. 209 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājādēvar', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, above Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 96 of 1920) according to which Rājārāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A.D., i.e., about 3 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as used by Kishore. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājārāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirū-Perumāi to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājārāja's demise, when Edirū-Perumāi was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttunga-Chōja III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga-Chōja III was one of the two sons of Rājārāja II and that during the former's minority,* Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōja country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājārāja II and those of Kulōttunga-Chōja III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pā-maruvēya'† and 'Paya-vilpita',‡ etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirū-Perumāi under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōja kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession§ waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulāśekhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulāśekhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōja king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōja army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulāśekhara to the throne, to decapitate the Sinhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura* so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulāśekhara* is stated to have stayed in the Chōja country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Sinhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulāśekhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, viz., one from Ārpākkam* in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaśgōja* near Madras, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayōgam* in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

* Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājārāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A.D. 1169) with the 33rd regnal year. We know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Chōja country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājārāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōja hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājārāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A. R.* for 1917, para. 26).

† *A. R.* No. 173 of 1908; also *A. R.* for 1919, para. 30.

‡ *A. R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A. R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A. R.* for 1924, p. 102.

§ This war is detailed at length in chapters 78 and 77 of the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Sinhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Sinhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōja general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulāśekhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvamsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

* Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 69).

† In this connection it may be noted that Kulāśekhara sought help from his uncle, the Kōṅga king Kulōttunga-Chōja, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A. R.* No. 336 of 1925). The *Mahāvamsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulāśekhara from the king of Kōṅga. The chronicle states that 'Kulāśekhara gathered together the forces of Tiruvāla and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Kōṅga and Vēḷa-Kōṅga' (*Wijesinha's translation* p. 242).

‡ No. 30 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, p. 168 ff.

§ No. 463 of 1905 of the same collection.

¶ No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamil literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*. In this war the two Chōla generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyaṇ mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavagam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇaṇ *alias* Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu epigraph sets forth that Vēlavagam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇaṇ *alias* Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ counter-acted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vira-Pādya on the Pādya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōla king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu¹ mobilised his forces in his camps at Ōrātturai,² Pulaichchēri,³ Mātōttam,⁴ Vallikāmam,⁵ Maṭṭivāḷ⁶ and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōla king summoned Śrīvallabha,⁷ the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Iṇṇa, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter Ōrātturai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other places with large forces with the result that Pulaichchēri, Mātōttam and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kūḍam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kūḍam* of land from south to north in Iḷe-maṇḍalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavagam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiyaṇṇaṇ *alias* Annaṇṇa Pallavarāyaṇ then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōla king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription states that the Pādya king Kulasekhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iṇṇa and conspired with him against the Chōlas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Vaḷḷaru the Chōla general Rājarāja-Karkuḍiyarāyaṇ, Rājagambhīra-Aṇḍukōṭṭināḍāyāṇ and others that were

¹ Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1183-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

² Ōrātturai is now known by the Dutch name Kappo and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Ōrā)-tōṭṭa and in the *Mahāvamsa* it is referred to by the name bhāratittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

³ Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulacceri of the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V, 17).

⁴ Mātōttam is the Mahātittha of the Pālī chronicles. In Tamil inscriptions it is called Rājarājapattin (S. I. I. (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1413 and 1414). It is now known as Māṇai or Tirukhāḍivaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja-Ivaratn-Mahādēva in this village (A. R. for 1913, para. 21).

⁵ Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikkānam about 3 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vallikūma in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 83, V, 17).

⁶ Maṭṭivāḷ may be identified with Maṭṭuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Ch. 60, V, 34).

⁷ The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōla king is not noticed in the *Mahāvamsa*. In the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (nēruṇṇaṇ) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mīṭā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 50, *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. II). His father Maṇḍhārāja was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter assumed the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Maṇḍhārāja was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the situation. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōla emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōla king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulasekhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by *Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyā Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar*. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of *Kulaśekhara*,¹ hinting that the Singhaless king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king. It was therefore decided to re-install on the Pāṇḍya throne *Vira-Pāṇḍya*, the son of *Parākrama-Pāṇḍya*, the former protégé of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. *Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyā Ammayappa alias Pallavarājan* was directed by the Chōla king to proceed with the necessary forces. When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *śālī* of land in *Rājārāja-Palaiyakūr*, according to the *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* record. All the above events are also recorded in the *Tirumayāgam* inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day; the *Tirumayāgam* inscription is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunae in the text of the *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant places as *Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* (*Chingleput* district) and *Tirumayāgam* (*Tanjore* district) is not quite clear.

Of the persons figuring in the present inscription, the most important is *Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyā Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar* who took an active part in the coronation of *Rājādhirāja II* and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the *Ārppukkam* epigraph we learn that his father was *Kāṇḍiḷāḷa Sambuvācār*. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present record. Next in importance to *Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyā Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar* stands *Lakkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka*. He was entrusted with the command of the Singhaless army by the Ceylonese king *Parākramabāhu*, when *Parākrama-Pāṇḍya* sought his assistance against *Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya*. Before *Lakkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka* could start for India, *Parākrama-Pāṇḍya* had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing *Kulaśekhara* to flee from his kingdom. *Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyā Ammayappa alias Pallavarāyan*, who effected the distribution of lands among the relations of *Tiruchchirambalam-Uḍaiyā Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar* seems to have been an important officer and general both under *Rājārāja II* and his successor *Rājādhirāja II*. The several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of *Pallavarāyar* are obscure and are, therefore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *uḍattar*, *Chēdīrāsar*, *Vaṇādhirāsar*, *Singai-arāyar*, *Nīlaguḍagarāyar* and the royal secretary *Mānavan-Māvēndavāḷḷa* appear to have held office even in the time of *Kulaśekhara-Chōla III*, the successor of *Rājādhirāja II*.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription *Kāṇḍiḷ-Kuḷattār*, the native place of *Pallavarāyar*, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist *Amudacāgarar* commenced and completed his work *Kāṇḍi* in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as *Kāṇḍi-Kuḷattār*.² It is stated to have been in *Āmūr-kōttam* which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present *Chingleput taluk*. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name *Kuḷattār*, one near *Tiruknachchiyūr* in *Kaḷattūr-kōttam* and the other near *Tirupporūr* in *Āmūr-kōttam* and the village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of *Kulaśekhara-Chōla I*, *Kaṇḍan-Mēdhavan*,³ a descendant of the chief who patronised *Amudacāgarar*, was

¹ The chronicle describes *Kulaśekhara* as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that *Kulaśekhara* was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1108 (*Ārppukkam* inscription) and that he was re-installed on the throne by A.D. 1171 (*Pallavarāyapattai* record). By A.D. 1175 (*Tiruvālaṅkāḍu* inscription) he had been dethroned and *Vira-Pāṇḍya* crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that *Kulaśekhara* could have occupied the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

² *Akura*, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.* p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyur of our record. *Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam* and *Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōla-puram* are well known to Tamil epigraphy. *Ayirattai* was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Paḷamānēri in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Virudhigam*' of Buddhamiṭra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' *Rājādhirāja-Kuḷattūr* probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyappēttai which is known in inscriptions as *Kuḷattūr* and must have been called Pallavarāyappēttai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōla general. *Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanṣu* was evidently named after the surname '*Virudarājabhayaṅkara*' of Kulavaruga-Chōla.¹

TEXT.

1. Śvaṭṭi ēṭṭi [?]* Kaḷal-śō[m]la Pār-māḍarum Pū-māḍarum-Kalai-māḍarum-aḍai-śō[m]la
Pār-māḍarum-Chir-māḍarum [amaruḍu-vā]a²
2. nāṅ-kaḷal-śō[m] puvī-ṭṭum pār-kaḷal-pōl³ puḷaḷ parappa śōḍṇagamm-eṇ[na]⁴ śōḍimūḍi
pumaṇḍarūḷ aru-śamaiyamun
3. aṭṭi-bāḍamuna neṇṇiḷ nīḇṇu pārṇipatt⁵ To[n*]navaruṅ-Chēralaruṅ* (Śōḷa)ra-mudalāya
maṇ[ḍavarga]ḷ t[ṭ]ṭai aṭṭamūḍu van[ḍi-ṭṭai] śōḷṇip⁶ūḷi śōḷṇol eḷa-p[ā]ṭṭum-inūḷ-
aḷippaḥ-chem-po vi-
4. ra-ḡiṃhāṇaḡattu Uḷaḡḍai-Mukkoḷkiḷāṇaḡiḷaḡḍum viṇṇirundarūḷiya Kōv-irāḡakōṇṇi-
paṇmar-āṇa⁷ [Tirukṭiṇṇanachelakravartiga]⁸ Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarukku yāḡḡu
eḷṭāvadu⁹ III
5. Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalattu Āmūṇṇi-kōḷṭṭattuch-Chirukunṇa-nāṭṭuk-Kāṇḡaḡ-Kuḷattūṇṇi-
Kaḷ[ā]ṭṭuḷa Tiruchchirāmbalam-Uḍaiyāṇ Perumāṇambiyār-āṇa Pallava-
6. rāyar Periyadēvar Rājārājadēvar pēṭṭu kōyir-kottum-āvar-kudirai-aḡambaḷi-niyāyam
uḷṭṭa turaḡaḡaḡḡum mudaliḡaḡum-āy mudaliḡaḡ-ōḷṭi kārīyat-
7. mḡḡuḡ-kaḡavaruḡum-āy eḷ[ā]*ḷa varīḡaḡaḡum muḷ-ēval uḷṭṭu mudaliḡaḡ poraḡkaḡava
ēḡaḡaḡaḡum poru nīḇṇu Periyadēvar¹⁰ tūḷi-arūḷip-piḷḷaḡaḡuḷḡu oḡṇu irāḡḡum
uḡṇaḡkaḡṭṭum-ā-
8. ḡaḡṭṭi Āyirattaiḷ-paḡaiḡiḡum viṭṭup-pōḡarēḡḡip-pōḡḡiḡa-ḡḡattut-tiruv-antapuramum
...¹¹ Āṇḡaḡum uḷṭṭi¹²ḷaḡa eḷḷam paḡiḡarittuk-[kūṭṭi]k-kōḡu-pōḡdu Rāja-
9. [rā*]ḷaḷ[pu]ra[ḡ*]ḷiḷa irāḡḡa iḷaḡṭṭukku [eḷ]ḷaḡaḡa iḷaḡ...yaru mīḡuḡi-p..... [ra]ṭṭu uḡaḡ-
kūḷṭṭiḷa).....(rāḷḷum eḷḷaḡ-kalakka)..... [Śō]ḷarāḡyat¹³ tukku....yā irupṭār]
kāḡaḡavaruḡ.....
10. vāḡḡip-purattu eḷḷa aḡaiyu kōḡḡaḡum va[rāda]ḡḡattu in.....[um paḡiḡarittu iv.....
Periyadēvar eḡḡḡaruḷ[ṭ]....¹⁴ eḷ[ā]ḷiḷaḷa tīru-āḷḷi[eh]ḡḡattukku uṇiḡa piḷḷaḡaḡ iḷiḡiḷa
...[vukki]-

¹ B. I. I., Vol. III, p. 152.

² *Amoḷḷamūḷa* is another reading for *amaruḍu vā* (No. 58 of 1906).

³ For *pōl* some inscriptions read *ṭṭi*.

⁴ Other readings are *śōḷṇagamm maḍalana* (No. 20 of 1899) and *śōḷṇagamm āmema* (No. 474 of 1905).

⁵ *Panda pōḷḷi* is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).

⁶ No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Koṇḡamurum Paḷḡamurum*. No. 465 of 1905 has *maḷṭṭiḷaḡ-ḷōṇṇip*.

⁷ No. 20 of 1899 has *paraḷḡarittumun*; and in *paṇmarāṇa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Graṇtha* character.

INDIA.

⁸ Some inscriptions have *Maduraiyem Iḡamam Iṇḡarāḡa* in addition (cf. No. 474 of 1905) *chāḷa* in *chēḷamāḷṭṭiḷaḷ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Graṇtha* characters.

⁹ The letter *pa* is inserted between *ri* and *ā*.

¹⁰ The *ḡṇ* may be filled up with the letters *pori*.

¹¹ *ḡṇ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Graṇtha* characters.

¹² The word *yiranda* may have been lost here.

- 22 upiramaḥjakkum iva-makka[ka]nku[m] ivarga-vargattārkum Virudarājabbayaḍkara-
valanāttuk-Kurukkai-nāttu ivar-kāy-āpa Chō[[ēndimāṅgarali]] palam-peyar
savira[du yālu]da nttāvadu-muda[l] antarāyam pātiam-uṭṭaḍa t-
- 23 raiyiliyāy vēra-pirinda Rā[jālhi]rājag*-Kuḷstō[r] nilam nātpaditru-vēli [*] lu-nilam agu-
bayikkumpadikku Jeyānkōḍaśō[a]-maṇḍalattu Mēgmalaip-Pajaiyaṅūr-[nāttu]p-
Pajaiyaṅūr-udaiyāḡ Vēdavagam-uḍaiyāḡ Am-
- 24 maiḷappār-āga Pallavarā(yaḡ ni[ehohayit])ttapadiyāy anubavikkum virandaṅgalil
Śirgallatūruḍaiyāḡ-magaḷukku nilam mā-vēli[yu] Ainaḡḡḡaiyāḡ-magaḷukku
nila[m] mē-(vēliyumi iva)-makka[vēl]kaippa...ega[*] mūvarkku.
- 25 pērāl nilam iru-vēli-y-āga... aru-vēliyum Nerkuṅṅā-kilār Kaḷappalarāyar-magaḷukku
nilam mā-vēliyum iva-makkaḷil Alagiyaḍvapanḱu nilam mā-vēliyum peo-[makkaḷu]
kku pērāl nilam iru-vēli-y-āga nilam aruvēli-
- 26 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kālingarāyar-magaḷukku nilam mā-vēliyumi makkaḷil Śētta[n]*
Tirunattamāḷi Virana[mbi] Dēvaḡ[kiga]ḡaiyāḡ-magaḷukkum iva-magaḷukkum nilam
iru-vēliyum Rājarājadōva*[r]-virundaṅgaḷukkum makkaḷukkum nilam en-vēliyum
tāyār Vaippā-
- 27 ruḡaiyāt-magaḷāckku nilam vēliyum uḷḡaḡ-piranda penḡaḷil Viḷiḡuruḡaiyāḡukku paḱka
penḡukku iva[[magaḷukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga uḷlam] nātpaditru-vēliyum
antarāyam pātiam-uṭṭaḍa iraḷili-
- 28 ittamalikku||—u[var]ikku eḷuttittār ||—Nandiyarāyar ||—Amatakoḡūr ||—Kaṇakarāyar ||—
Mūvandarāyar ||—Jigattara[yar]||—Viḷaiyarāyar||—Paruvuvari-Srikaraga-
nā[yakam]||—Śirukuḡaiyāḡ||—Kunḡākilāḡ||—Kāḡūr-ki[avaḡ]||—Nariya[uḡe]
Uḡaiyāḡ||—
- 29 Paruvuvari-Srikaraganattu Mugave[t]*bi Inḡai-Uḡaiyāḡ ||—Ārūr-Uḡaiyāḡ ||—Tattaicalūr-
Uḡaiyāḡ||—Śirunallūr-Uḡaiyāḡ||—ippaḱḱu piruḡadaṅcheḡd-aruḷḡa Sīḡ-
mugat-tukku eḷuttittār Chēdirāsaḡ||—Vāḡḡḡatā'[va]ḡḡas
- 30 Rā[ja*] rā[ja*] Viḷupparayar ||—Śiḡga[ar]āyar ||—Niḡaḡḡarayar||—Dipattarayar ||—
eḷudināḡ tirumandira-ḡlai Migavaḡ Mūv[er]ḡ(uḡ)ḡaiyāḡ ||—

TRANSLATION.

Ld. 1-8. Hall! Prosperity! In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Rājākṣarivarman gives the glorious Rājādhirājādēva, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (his queen) Ulaguṭai-Mukkōkḷiṇēdiga on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (so that) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (residing in) the flower (i.e., Lalohmi), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first yuga, (his) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (*flowerbed*), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Teṇṇavar (Pāṇḍya), Śēṇaiar (Chēṇa), Śingaiar (Singhalese) came carrying (with them) tribute and made their obeisance (to him), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

* The word *Atchanga* is engraved in Greek.

* The gap may be filled with the letters H, A, P.

* The word intended was perhaps *Stadon*.

* The letter *ss* is engraved in German characters.

* The letters *de* and *ing* are engraved in *Groenlands* characters.

* The word alone may be lost here.

* The letters *Alphabets* are engraved in *Gravure*.

When Kulatūlāy Tirochchirāmbalamuḍaiyāy Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar, (a resident) of Kūrigai-Kujattūr in Śirukunra-nādu, which was a subdivision of Āmūn-kōttam, a district of Jayāṅgudāsōla-mayjalam, who had received all honours (varṇas) (such as) the position of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of Periyadēvar (i.e., the senior king) Rājārājadēva, the headship of the several departments (turoṇaḥ) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (high) dignities attainable by the officers such as *mug-ṛaḥ*. Periyadēvar (i.e., Rājārāja) passed away. His (Rājārāja's) sons (pūṣṇaḥ) (being then) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them to leave the citadel of Ayirattai. And while they were moving, he (Pallavarāyar) safely escorted the lacem including all their retinue and conducted them to Rājārājapuram.

I. 8. Damaged.

Id. 10-13.

protected them warding off all possible danger from outside. Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (exact) state of affairs, as it (then) stood, (was intimated to the king) and (Arrang. brought) the princess residing at Gaṅgaikōṇṇasōlapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Ediriḥperumāl, son of Neriyaḍipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśādēvar, who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (king) under the title of Rājādhirāja-dēva in the fourth year (of his installation) and made the *uḍu-kōttam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (clanches) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (he) brought all (parties) together so that there might be no transgression. (In this way he) creditably discharged some of his commissions.

Id. 14-24. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs into the Pāṇḍya country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the Pāṇḍya (king) Kulasēkhara left his dominions and entering the Chōḷa country requested (the king) to get him (back) his territory: (whereupon) Pallavarāyar represented to (the Chōḷa king) that Uḍaiyār [Kulasēkhara] should be made to get back the kingdom, that Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka and others who had entered and taken possession of this (Pāṇḍya) kingdom should be killed and (that) their heads should be nailed on to the gates of Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. When the royal sanction was obtained (thereto), he (Pallavarāyar) unparingly did all that was necessary for (the Pāṇḍya king) Kulasēkhara and guarded (him) during his stay in the Chōḷa kingdom; captured the Pāṇḍya country with (the aid of) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of Madura; (he) made all necessary arrangements for the entry of the Pāṇḍya king Kulasēkhara into Madura; and by making him (Kulasēkhara) enter (his capital) Madura, prevented the Pāṇḍya kingdom from becoming a Sinhalese possession; and made the Tondai-nāḍu and the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu subject to him (i.e., the Chōḷa), as was his own (Chōḷa) country.

When (Pallavarāyar) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the management of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administration even after him (i.e., after his death) in the same manner as it used to be done (during his lifetime) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died. (Thereupon), his estate, 40 *ēḷ* in extent, in Rājādhirājāy-Kujattūr situated in Kurukun-nādu, a division of Virudarājabhayaṅkata-vaṇaṇḍu, which was separated in the 8th year of the king, from Chōḷandrasōḷganallūr after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes including *antariyam* and *pāṇḍu*, (was distributed) among his wives, sons, their wives and children, (his) daughters and mother, (his) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by Palayāṇḍi-Uḍaiyāy

* It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.

Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṇ Ammaiappan alias Pallavarāyaṇ of Mēgmalaip-Paḷaiyaṇūr in Jayaṅgaṇa-aḍḍa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (as follows) :—

Ll. 24-25 .	Among (Pallavarāyaṇ's) wives (a), (b), (c) and (d).	(a) to the daughter of Sīrālattūr-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
		(b) to the daughter of Alinād-Uḍaiyāṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
		(c) to the daughter of Nōḷ-kunṇaḍ-kijār Kalappā-rāyaṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
	To the three married daughters of (b) above.	....	six eḷi (of) land at two eḷi per head.
	Among the sons of (c) above	to Aḷagiyadēvaṇ	three eḷi (of) land.
	To the (three) daughters of (c) above	....	six eḷi (of) land at two eḷi per head.
		(d) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāṭiṅgarāyaṇ.	three eḷi (of) land.
	To the daughter of the son of (d) above, Śōṭṭaṭṭamāḍi Viramaṭṭi Dēvaṇḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	....	two eḷi (of) land.
	To the wife of Rājaraṭṭar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyaṇ from (d) above) and her sons.	....	eight eḷi (of) land.
	To his mother	the daughter of Vaiyppūr-Uḍaiyāṇ.	one eḷi (of) land.
	Among his sisters	to the wife of Vaiyppūr-Uḍaiyāṇ and her daughter.	two eḷi (of) land.

On the whole 40 eḷi of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uṣṭari* (are) :—

Samīyattāyar||— Amarakōṭṭār||— Kaṇṇakarāyaṇ||— Mūvendarāyaṇ||— Chīgattarāyaṇ||— Vāḷiyarāyaṇ||— The *paramaṭari Śrīkarapaṇḍayakam* are :— Śirakudaiyāṇ||— Kuṇṇakūḷiḷḷa||— Kūṇṇar-kijavaṇ||— Nariyaṇūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— The *paramaṭari Śrīkarapaṭṭa Mugaṇṇṭṭi* are :— Iḷḷai-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— Sīṇallūr-Uḍaiyāṇ||— For the royal order that was issued, (the attesters are) :— Chōḷirāṭṭar||— Vāṇṇāḍhirā||— [vā]cāṭṭar Rājaraṭṭar||— [rā]jaṭṭar||— [vī]ṇṇapattarāyaṇ||— Sīṇṇaṭṭarāyaṇ||— Nīḷagaṇṇarāyaṇ||— Dīpattarāyaṇ||— (This royal order) is the draft of the royal secretary Mūvāṇḍaṭṭar||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUNDI.

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on two incised bricks which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā.¹ The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

¹ See A. S. I. Re. Rep., 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of $11\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $8\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The inscription consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palaeography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigrapha. It appears that the letters have not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from the shape of the letters that the scriber has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The characters found on these records belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the sixth century of the Christian era. As to their palaeography the following points may be noticed: of the initial vowels the lower portion of *e* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of *ā* is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and in *e* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are noticed in places in ligatures (cf. *sakṣāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11, etc.). The triangle of *kh* stands at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *ṛ* are slanting downwards and *ḍ* has a serif in the lower end. In *ś* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta period¹ and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. *Y* is tripartite with a hook to the left which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *Ḍ* is rounded at the top of the middle vertical touching the right and the left limbs. Lingual *ḷ* occurs twice in the document (cf. *khṛḷa-kṛḷa*, B l. 19), a peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Pratya* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (cf. *dotama*, B. 10, 11, 15; and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The language of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of *śandhi* have not been strictly adhered to. As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled, e.g., *vahirdhṛ* (B l. 8), *pārcatṛ* (A l. 14), *andhrāntṛ* (A l. 21). *Ṣ* is frequently written as *ṣ* in A, e.g., *sakṣāra* for *saṁskāra* (A l. 3, etc.). *V* and *ḁ* have not been distinguished except in *labja* (B l. 19; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the ordinary mark represented by a small curve (—) like a comma written horizontally, and the other, a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (cf. B l. 15 after *chā* and A l. 30 after *ni*). The former has been shown in the transcript below, with a *dashu*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the text of the well-known *Pratīyāsamulpāda* or *Nālimāmatra* as well as the *śikṣa* or division.

¹ Cf. the inscription of Tivāṇāpa, G. S. I., Vol. III, Pl. XXIII A.

The *sūtra*¹ portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,² while the *vibhāṅga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhāṅga* found in the Nidāna Saṅgīyutta.³ B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samvāpakaḥ*.

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta alabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *virōdhā* portion as well, but none contains the *vibhāṅga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 3, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven (fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C) seven such lines of the *virōdhā* only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *virōdhā*. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *virōdhā* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *virōdhā* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *nyam samyak-prakṛitān-ārambhātā nyam-āvakāśāntān-iti*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.⁴ Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasā copper-plate⁵ and the Kurrām casket.⁶ Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script and a Prakṛit dialect. Palaeographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurrām casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hinawra⁷ in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 5th or 7th century A.D. than in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Pīṭakas, the text of the Pañcoba Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *ābhaya* (i.e., efflection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *virōdhā* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurrām Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañcasmūpāda* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

¹ This has been shown in the text in Italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhāṅga*.

² See *Vāṅga Pīṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, pp. 1 ff.; *Saṃgāthā-Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 196, 227; *Dīrghadāna*, pp. 300, 347; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1; *Lalitā Vistara* (ed. Ledmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*virōdhā*) arrangement of the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

³ *Saṃgāthā-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

⁴ The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *saṃvāsa* and *paṭisaṃvāsa*). For an explanation of this Theory cf. Oldenberg, *Buddhism* (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 165 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 376 ff., etc.

⁵ *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 29.

⁶ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 76 ff.

⁷ *Abern*, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 135.

⁸ *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 209.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *vibhanga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., i.e., three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-śāstra*, a commentary on the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* by Vasubandhu¹ (circa 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* were found imbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kāśī copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the *(Parī)-nirvāṇa-cāstya* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present records and the Gopalpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpas*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship—(i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles forming his robes, etc., (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *śāhi-tree*, *chaitya*, etc., and (iv) *Dhamma* as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings whatever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand [lit. sand-snow], they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Śāstras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation."² The *gāthā* referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā etc.* supposed to have been spoken by Aśvajit to Śāriputra.³ Prof. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago⁴ that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidāna-sūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā keta-ppalbhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1920, pp. 413 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *vibhanga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *vāḍḍha*' (*ibid.* p. 412, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained as the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *vibhanga* in connection with each *vāḍḍha*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Arīṣṭa-vibhanga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

² *Li-tsing, A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Takakura), p. 169.

³ See *The Pāliya Pitaka* (ed. Oldenberg), I, p. 40.

⁴ See *S. B. J.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.¹ The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *stūpas* mentioned above are abundant.² The authentic robes of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidāna-sūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāni*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nivāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his *Saṃskṛtikā*, "Even though fire should be burning above our head, . . . we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Mokṣha*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality'."³ It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham* [*] Evaṃ mayā śrutam-śikṣamān-samayē Bhagavān-ahChrāvastyādi
viharati sma Jōtavanō Anāthapiṇḍadāsy-ārāṇā¹ mahatā bhikkhū-saṃghāṇa
sārdham-ardha²-trayāda³-bāhū-bhikkhū-katāḥ [†] Tatra Bhagavān bhikkhū-
ghām-ā[ma*]jñā-
- 2 yatē⁴ sma Pratītya-samutpādaya vō bhikkhavaḥ ādi[m*] vō dāsyaiśyāmi
vibhāgaṃ cha⁵ tach-chaṭṭ[ṇa*]ta⁶ sādhu cha suśthū oha manasā kuruta
bhāṣaiśyē Pratītya-samutpāday-ādīḥ katamaḥ [†] yat-ut-ādin=sat-[†]ān-
bhavaty-ay-ātpāda(dā)⁷d=ida-
- 3 m-atpadyatē⁸ yat-ut-ārdyā-pratyayāḥ samakāraḥ⁹ saṃskāra-pratyayaḥ vijñānaḥ
vijñāna-pratyayaḥ nāmarūpa[m] nāmarūpa-pratyayaḥ śarī-āyatanaḥ śarī-
āyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśaḥ (śāḥ)¹⁰ sparśa-pratyayā vācā cēdanā-
- 4 pratyayā trishpā trishpā-pratyayā[m]¹¹upādānaḥ upādāna-pratyayā bhavaḥ
bhava-pratyayā jātā jātā-pratyayā jarā-maraṇa-śāṅka-pariśēd-śūbha-āurmanasy-
āpāyāḥ sambhā[ṃbha]vanti¹²-ācam-aya kēvala-

¹ [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Tāhrpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive *stūpas* have been discovered in the relic chambers of small *stūpas*, each enclosing little clay male figures with the Buddhist creed.—Ed.]

² I-tsing, *A Record etc.*, p. 151.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ A reads *grāha*.

⁵ There is a small stroke above *ta* in both which may be accidental.

⁶ A reads correctly *āmanasā*.

⁷ A reads *śāṅka* correctly.

⁸ Here and in several other places A reads *saṃkāt*.

⁹ A has *pratyaya*.

¹⁰ Translated by I-tsing in his *Record*, p. 151.

¹¹ The record A has a mark of punctuation here.

¹² A has *āpāy-cha*.

¹³ A reads *ā* correctly.

¹⁴ A has correctly *apāy-cha*.

¹⁵ A reads *simultaneity*.

- 5 *aya muktā dūṣṭha-skandhāya samudayā* [Bhāṣa] [1*] *Ayam-uchyate Pratyaya-*
samutpāday-ādih [1*] *Vibhaṅgaḥ katanah* [1*] *Avidyā-pratyayāḥ samakārāḥ*
 [1*] *Avidyāḥ katanā* | *Yat-pūrvāntāḥ ajānātā aparātāḥ ajā-*
- 6 *naḥ pūrvāntā-parāntā ajānātā adhyātmam-ajānām va* [Bhāṣa] *ajānātā*
addhyātma-va [Bhāṣa] *ajānātā karmāḥ-ajānātā vipākā ajānātā*
karma-vipākā ajānātā *Va* [Bhāṣa] *ajānātā Dharmā ajānātā Saṅghā*
ajānātā dūṣṭhā
- 7 *ajānātāḥ samudayā ajānām nirvāṇā ajānām mārgā ajānātāḥ* *hātā-*
ajānātāḥ *hātu-samutpannāḥ Dharmāḥ-ajānātāḥ* *kuṣal-ākūḍāḥ* *ānyā-*
śāstrāyāḥ *āsvitāy-āsvi-*
- 8 *tavyāḥ* *kīṇa-praṇīta-kriyā-śukla-sapratibhāga-Pratitya-samutpannāḥ* *dhat-*
māḥ-ajānātāḥ *śāstra vā punah apar-āyatanāḥ* *yathādhūta-saprativā-*
(Bhāṣa) *iti* | *Yat-tatra tatra yathādhūta-*
- 9 *tay-ajānām-adarśanam-sambhāṣanāḥ tamah* *śāntāḥ* *avidyā-āntahākāram-*
lyam-uchyate *avidyā* | *Avidyā-pratyayāḥ samakārā* *iti* [1*] *Samakārāḥ*
katanā [1*] *Trayaḥ samakārāḥ* [1*]
- 10 *Kāya-samakārāḥ vāk-samakārāḥ manah-samakārā* *iti* | *Samakāra-pratyayaḥ vijñā-*
nām-iti | *Vijñānam katanat* [1*] *Shod-vijñāna-kāyāḥ* [1*] *Chakṣu-*
(Bhāṣa) *ajānātā* *śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-maṇḥ-vijñānāḥ* [1*]
- 11 *Vijñāna-pratyayaḥ nāma-rūpam-iti* [1*] *Nāma katanat* [1*] *Chatvārah arūpi-*
ṇāḥ skandhāḥ [1*] *Katanāḥ chatvārah* [1*] *Vedanā-skandhāḥ samjñā-*
(Bhāṣa) *skandhāḥ samakāra-skandhāḥ vijñāna-skandhāḥ* [1*] *Rūpam katanat* [1*]
- 12 *Yat-kūṇid-rūpāḥ sarvāḥ* *loch-chaṭvāri mahābhūtanī* | *Chatvāri cha mahā-*
bhūtanī-upādāya itidam cha rūpāḥ pūrvakam cha nāma ind-ādh-
ya-śāstrāyāḥ *nāma-rūpam-ity-uchyate* [1*] *Nāma-rūpa-pratyayaḥ shod-*
- 13 *tanam-iti* | *Shod-āyatanāḥ katanat* [1*] *Shod-ādhyātmikāḥ-āyatanāḥ* [1*]
Chakṣur-ādhyātmikam-āyatanāḥ *śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-maṇḥ* [1*] *adh-*
yātmikam-āyatanāḥ | *Shod-āyatanā-pratyayaḥ*
- 14 *aparāḥ* *iti* [1*] *Spārśaḥ katanat* [1*] *Shat-āparāḥ* [1*] *Chakṣur-ād-*
aparāḥ *śrōtra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-maṇḥ-samaparāḥ* [1*] *Spārśa-pratyayāḥ vedan-*
āḥ | *Vedanā katanā* | *Tisro vedanāḥ* [1*] *Bukhā*
- 15 *dūṣṭhā adūṣṭhā-śukhā cha* || *Vedanā-pratyayāḥ triśo-iti* | *Triśoḥ katanā*
 [1*] *Tisro* [1*] *Triśoḥ* [1*] *Kāma-triśoḥ* *rūpa-triśoḥ* *arūpya-triśoḥ*
cha | *Triśoḥ-pratyayam-upādānam-iti* | *Upādānam katanat* [1*]

* A has a mark of punctuation here.

* A reads *pyrvāntā* and *aparātā* here and in the next line.

* A reads wrongly *avātā*.

* A reads *śāstrāyāḥ*.

* A has the correct reading *Tisro*.

* A reads *āyatanāḥ*.

* A has a punctuation mark here.

* A reads wrongly *aparātāḥ*.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a Buddhist inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 22 horizontal lines across the brick surface. The script is dense and characteristic of ancient Indian inscriptions. The brick itself is dark and shows signs of age and wear.

- 16 Chatvāry-upādānāni [*] Kām-upādānāni¹ dīrghīy²-upādānāni³ śīla-vrat-upādānāni⁴ ātma-vāś-upādānāni⁵ | Upādāna-pratyay[ā] bhava iti [*] Bhavaḥ katamāḥ [*] Trayā bhavāḥ [*] Kāma-bhavaḥ rūpa-bhavaḥ arū⁶.
- 17 pya-bhavaḥ [*] Bhava-pratyayā jātir-iti | Jātiḥ katamā | Yā tśhān tśhām satvānām tasmā⁷-tasmān(amin)-satva-nikhyo jātiḥ satv-jātir-avakrāntir⁸-abhinirpittīḥ prādurbhāvaḥ skandha-pratilambhō dhātu-prati-
- 18 lambhaḥ āyatana-pratilambhaḥ skandhānām-abhinirpittīḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]-rbbhāvaḥ [*] Jāti-pratyayā jarā-maraṇam iti [*] Jarā katamā | Yat-tat-[k]hālātyam pālityam vañ-prachurātā
- 19 jīratā bhugmatā kuhja⁹-gōpānā¹⁰-vañkatā śīla-kālakā-chita-gātrātā | * kuhja-kuhja-pravāha-kāyatā puratā pāg-bhāra-kāyatā | * dūḍḍa-vishkamabhayatā | * dhandhatvach mandatvach hānīḥ par[ā]hā¹¹gib¹² *
- 20 indriyāṇāni paripākāḥ paribhēdāḥ satkārāṇāni prāḡbhbhāvaḥ jarjratbhbhāvaḥ iyaṁ-achyatē jacā | Maraṇam katamā [*] Yā tśhām tśhām satvānām tasmāt-tasmāt-sa[va]-nikā-
- 21 yāt chyatī¹³-chyavanataḥ bhēdō-ntara-bhāḡiḥ āyusā hānīḥ tśhmanāḡō hānīḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya nirōdhāḥ skandhānām ukshēpō maraṇam kāla-kriyā ātma-achyatē maraṇam-iti [*]
- 22 Idam cha maraṇam pūr[ā]vikā cha jarā tad-ubhayaṁ-āikadhyam-āhīsatī-kāḡipya jarā-maraṇam-ity-achyatē | Ayam-achyatē Pratitya-samutpādaya vibhāḡaḥ [*] Pratitya-samutpādaya ād[ā]n[*] vō
- 23 dāśavyākhyāni vibhāḡāḥ-cha iti vō yad-uktam-idam-ētat-pratyuktam [*] Idam-avāchad-Bhagavān-ā[ttā]manasaḥ¹⁴ acā bhikṣhavō Bhagavatō bhā-śitām-abhyānandam ti (dam-iti)¹⁵

No. 33.—A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. BACHT, M.A., D. in letters; CALCUTTA.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhāḡa*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratityasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratitya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhāḡa*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof. Tucci.¹⁶ Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hēmarāja Śāriṇā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhāḡas*: *avidyā*, *vāsanā*, *trishyā*, *upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

¹ A has a punctuation mark here.² A reads wrongly *dīrghīy-upā*.³ A reads *cha* after this.⁴ A reads *āyusā*.⁵ A reads *paribhēdāḥ*.⁶ A reads at the end *satvānām-āhīsatī* | *Pratityasamutpādaya samūptāḥ*.⁷ A fragment from the *Pratitya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* of Vasubandhu, J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 611-622.⁸ A has *tasmā tasmān*.⁹ A gives *kuhja*.¹⁰ A also gives *kuhja*.¹¹ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.¹² Read *manasaḥ*.

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Gordier, *Catalogue* p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Guṣamāṣi is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Doan* Agyur. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya-samutpāda-viśākhā-nirdeśa* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-nyūḥayā* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 626 *Fan li ling* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nālandā-sūtra*. The translation has been published in *Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka*, Vol. II (*Āgama*), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Huan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ei yuen shi Hsueh* (Tokio Ed. p. 706 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan ling tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the *Ekōttarāgama*. The text is found in the *Taishō-Tripiṭaka*, Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang sui ling*. The *Ekōttarāgama* was translated into Chinese by Gaṇṭama Saṅghadeva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later — viz. the *Fang sui ling*.¹ The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese *Saṃyukta-Āgama* (*Taishō* II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1238-1240). An examination of the texts shows that *Saṃyukta* 1248 is identical with the *Chellagopālaka-suttanta* and *Saṃyukta* 1240 with the *Mahāgopālaka-suttanta* of the Pāli *Majjhima* (Nos. 34 and 35). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the *Ekōttara*. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the *Gopālaka-sutta* is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* of the Pāli *Saṃyutta*, II, pp. 1 ff. The *Desanā* consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nirōdha*. The first part of the *Desanā* which deals with the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nirōdha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the *Vibhaṅga* portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the *Saṃyutta* text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jarā-maraṇa*. Moreover the *Vibhaṅga* portion in the *Saṃyutta* is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The *Saṃyutta* text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nirōdha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese *Saṃyukta* (*Taishō* Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the *Saṃyukta* had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.² The Sanskrit original of the *Desanā* (the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and *Nirōdha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasi (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Desanā* shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yaḍ-at-āmin-at-āmin bhavaty-asy-ātpāḍid-āmin-at-padyatī*, which occurs in the Kasi and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli *Desanā* but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the *Saṃyukta* has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasi texts of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *Vibhaṅga* than with the *Saṃyutta* text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga*.

¹ Nanjio 627, *Taishō* Ed. II, p. 546, *Āgama*, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 150 "Sūtra on a pastor".

² See *Āgama*, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 347 and 352.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Saṃyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hsuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Saṃyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hsuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālamkāra* of Aśvaghōṣa, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.*

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus :—

Kurram text (<i>Pratītya-samutpāda</i>) [†]	Circa 100 A.D.
Sūtrālamkāra Text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>)	Circa 100 A.D.
Chinese Saṃyukta text (<i>Pratī</i> [‡] and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>) translated by Guṇabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kaśī text (<i>Pratītyasamutpāda</i> and <i>Nirōdha</i>).	Circa 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text (<i>Pratī</i> [‡] and <i>Vibhaṅga</i>)	Circa 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A. D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Saṃyutta text of *Desanā* and *Vibhaṅga* not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*[‡], *Nirōdha* and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 638 *Yuan Li king* of Nanjio's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jeta forest with innumerable[§] Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

* The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *saṃskāras*, the *saṃskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *adverse*, the latter produces the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *saṃskāras* are suppressed, the *saṃskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *adverse* is suppressed, the *adverse* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed" (E. Huber, *Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1908).

† For a Prakrit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, C. I. I., Vol. I, pt. 1, No. LXXX.

§ [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men.'—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals¹ of the Pratitya-samutpāda and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well.² I will explain³ it to you to-day.

The assembly⁴ of the monks expressed its willingness saying—'We shall all be happy to hear it'.

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the Pratitya-samutpāda? This being, it becomes; this producing, it is produced.⁵ Nescience is the cause of constituents (saṃ-sāra), constituents are the cause of consciousness (vijñāna); consciousness is the cause of individuality (nāmarūpa), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (ṣaḍāyatana), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (sparśa), the contact is the cause of sensation (vedanā), sensation is the cause of thirst (trishṇā), thirst is the cause of attachment (upādāna), attachment is the cause of existence (bhava), existence is the cause of birth (jāti), birth is the cause of old age and death (jarā-maraṇa). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties.⁶ This is called the origin (samudaya) of all that is suffering (duḥkha-saṃskāra)⁷. Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives⁸ of the chain of dependent production? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future; it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out; it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (vipākā) and nescience both in action and its maturation; it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Saṅgha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (saṃjyā). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (phala).⁹ It is nescience in all dharmas that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble¹⁰ and good. It is nescience in what is black and what is white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

¹ In Chinese we have a word which literally means "origins", "commencement", etc., which is regularly used for *śū*. *śū* is here used in the sense of "primaries" and *śūkaṅga* in the sense of "secondaries". *śūkaṅga* is translated in Chinese by "division", "classification", etc. It is here used in the sense of "secondaries". So I have translated the two words as "fundamentals" and "derivatives" respectively. Fa-hsien in his commentary already referred to explains *śū* as *addha* and *śūkaṅga* as *avaddha*. The Kāśī text has *apāyaka* instead of *śūkaṅga* as in that text the *avaddha* is described instead of *śūkaṅga*.

² Chinese *śū* also "it" means "to the highest point", "with perfection", etc., and *śū* means "well", "good". The expression evidently translates *śū*, *śūkaṅga* *śū* *śūkaṅga* *śū*. Before *śūkaṅga* the Kāśī text has *apāyaka* instead of *śūkaṅga*.

³ Chinese has literally—"Today by making distinction I will tell you".

⁴ [This does not occur in the *Śū*, text from Nālandā—Ed.]

⁵ This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of *Sāṃyutta*. The Chinese literally means: "(It) relies on the becoming, therefore it becomes, it produces, therefore it is produced". The Kāśī text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. *Sāṃyutta* ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des deux causes*, p. 71; *Pratītyasamutpāda*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor); *Madhyama*, Vol. II, p. 283.

⁶ The Nālandā text: *śūka-periṭṭha-duḥkha-samudaya-samutpāda*.

⁷ *Samudaya* is used here in a collective sense, meaning "all that is comprised under *duḥkha*, i.e., suffering". The phrase *lokaṇa-duḥkha-samudaya-samutpāda* with reference to the *Paṭiccha-samutpāda* is very common in Pāli. See *Pāli Dictionary* (Stiele and Rhys Davids), *sub. verb*. The complete translation the phrase as "origin of all that is suffering".

⁸ The Kāśī text has naturally *śūkaṅga* *apāyaka* instead of *śūkaṅga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*nirodha*).

⁹ [This is not found in the present *Sāṃyutta*—N. P. C.]

¹⁰ [This pair of words stand for *low* and *noble* respectively.—N. P. C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratityasamutpāda*) or in the six sense-organs. It is presence in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is presence in the real nature of things, wherever there is no observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, presence and obscurity it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-saṃskāra*), speech (*vāc*) and mind (*manas*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*vijñāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six:—(i) eye consciousness (*chakṣur-vijñāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrāvā*), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇā*), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā*), (v) body consciousness (*kāya*), (vi) mind consciousness (*manas*). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*):—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vedanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*samjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*samsthāna-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*vijñāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (*ṣaṣṭ-āyatana*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are:—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*spṛśa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*spṛśa-kāya*) consists of six:—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vedanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds:—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*tṛṣṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds:—sensual thirst (*kāma-tṛṣṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpe*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpe*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments:—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',² (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds: sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporeal existence (*rūpe*) and incorporeal existence (*arūpe*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,³ there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dharma*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life (it is birth (*jāti*)).

¹ [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. F. C.]

² Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

³ (Note the four words *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, *saṃsthāna*, and *pradhāna* in the Sanskrit text, cf. with this the inscriptions 'Bhagavata-śrāvāṇa', the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharṇa pillar, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI, p. 325, No. 98—N. F. C.)

Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldness, decrepitude, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the sense of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *śarīrāṅgas*, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (vital) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *śāndhas*. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called *jarā-maraṇa*.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependant production.¹

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTIVARMAN (II.); THE SIXTH YEAR.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at Annigeri (or more correctly Anjigere) a village in the Navalgund Taluk of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Annigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Belvola three-hundred district administered by Dēvaṇṇayya, an officer of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.² Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysalas it continued to be known as the *rāṣṭhānti-paṭṭaṇa* or the capital town.³ Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultan Muhammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567.⁴ In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyatājāka, obviously a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese name Anjigere. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banāśaṅkarī temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *chaitya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banāśaṅkarī temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l. 1 as Kirtivarman and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D. written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āraṇyā* (l. 5), *i* in *iṅga* (l. 10) and *o* in *ond* (l. 4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (cf. *geyā-ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 9). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf. *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. *śubhagēri* in l. 7). The length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ūṣā* of *yūmanṇā* (l. 8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *taḷekatta* as in *ne* of *āraṇyā* (l. 5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ* and *ḷ* (*ḷ* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. *ḍ*

¹ The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—S. P. C.]

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.

³ See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.

⁴ Same collection No. 202.

is distinguished from *ḍ* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *ṣ* (cf. *ḍi* of *māḍiṇḍon*, l. 9 and *ṣḍu* of *gōmūḍu*, l. 8.) The Dravidian *ṣ* is found thrice, in *ṣa* of *āṣaṣyā* (l. 5) and *iḍaṣa* (l. 10) and in *ṣi* of *nīṣiṇḍu* (l. 12); and final *ṣ* is found in *nōṣaṣa* (l. 14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ṇ* (e.g., *chēḍiyamāṇ*, l. 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āṣaṣyā*, l. 5) and the form of the verb *māḍiṇḍu* (l. 9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of long *ā* for the short in *gōmūḍu*. There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēḍiga*, i.e., (*chēḍya* or Jain temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jēbulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain **Kopḍikūlara-Kuppa** whose other name was **Kirtti-varmma-Gōṣāḍi**. The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhūnāman*) as stated in the last line. The writer was one **Diśāpāla**.

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kirttivarmma-Satyāśraya**. The title **Satyāśraya** affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early (Hūlukya) dynasty of Bādāmi and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. Kirtti-varmma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the date of our record would be **751-52 A.D.** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Patṭadakal pillar inscription¹ and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Aḍḍur inscription² is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Bāḥ-ṭrakūṭa records, viz., the Nidagundi inscription³ of Amoghavarsha I and the Venkatāpur⁴ inscription of Kṛishṇa II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aruvattaneya* (i.e., sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaram aruvattaneya enṇavaṇa* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Venkatāpur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kirtti-varman (II) and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Kṛishṇa II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaram* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-uttaram*, viz., in

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.* *ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 69.

³ Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.

⁴ No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amoghavarsha for Akshavarsha (Kṛishṇa II).

conjunction with the word *rājya* or *rājyābhivṛddhi*.¹ *End-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-kāsam*, denoting 'progressively'.

Jēbujagēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Ayyigere.

TEXT.

First Face.

- 1 Sravati [11 *] Kirtti[va]rmmā-[Satyā]rāya
- 2 āt-priṭhu[ri-vallabha] mahārāja-
- 3 dhīrāja paramēśvara bhātārā-
- 4 rājyaṁ ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa-
- 5 le āgacēyā varahaṁ jvara-

Second Face.

- 6 rddamānam-āge Jē-
- 7 bujagērige Kall-
- 8 yamma gūmuṇḍū(h)-geyā-
- 9 chedīramān-māḍiḍon
- 10 idaṁ munde Kouḍi-

Third Face.

- 11 anara-Koppa Kirtti[va]rmmā-
- 12 gūḍāyā nīrīḍā
- 13 kirttana 6 Diāpūlaṣya li-
- 14 khītaṁ 6 Prabhānāman 6

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

By N. LAKSHMINARAYAN BAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions¹ were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Soratūr and Sirunija both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. Soratūr (ancient Sarajavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāja II and the Yādava king Bhīlāma has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Sirunija which is three miles north of Soratūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soratūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Venkateśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirunija record, which is called B in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

The alphabet is **Kanarese** quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes—the earlier form of initial i consisting

¹ This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *end-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar-kāsam* occurs:—(1) Ayyigere Inscription: (rājyaṁ ond-uttaram-abhivṛddhi sa-); (2) Nijagavelli inscription: (*end-uttaram* rājyaṁ-gyast-as); (3) Venkatapur Inscription: (rājyābhivṛddhiy-*end-uttaram* sa-); (1) Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mahāśakti (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 18): (*uttar-kāsa-pravarddhamān-rājya-pādānam-āri-varahā*); (2) *dhār* Inscription of Amoghavaraha I (*above*, Vol. VII, p. 306): (*pravarddhamān-sa-dhīravarahaṁ-ga-vy-vat-epadum-uttar-kāsam rājyābhivṛddhi saluti-āre*); (3) Hāy Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 186): (*rājyaṁ-uttar-kāsam-abhivṛddhi*).

No. 73 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRITIVARMAN II — 6th YEAR.

FIRST FACE.



SECOND FACE.



THIRD FACE.



26A

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.



of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l. 4 of A); medial *v* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *aiśakya* as in earlier records (cf. *mā* of *paramēśvara* in l. 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ga* of *Purigere* (l. 5 of A) and *dē* of *Polide* (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *a* and *ā* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *j* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. *ja* in *raja* l. 1 of A with *rōja* l. 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *ṛ* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigere* and *śḍu* in l. 5 of A and *śiginda* and *Polide* in l. 4 of B). The lingual *ḍ* cannot be distinguished from the dental *ḍ* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose**. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nāḍayya* (assemble) from the noun *nāḍa* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōḍā* occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested¹ that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōḍhā*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the *Sarajūr* record (A) the occurrence of the expression *sten-ābhayiddhi* (prosperity of the addressee) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōḍā* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for it is not possible to derive *gōḍā* from *gōḍhā*; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōṣigara Kōṭeyamma who is described as a *gōḍā* in one of the inscriptions of Beṣagi² in the Mysore State is described in another record³ of the same place as *gō-sahasra-āḍam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gō-sahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-āḍa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription⁴ as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*.⁵

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *a* for *ā* in *saka* (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (l. 2) and *Indapayyā* for *Indapayya* (l. 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ri* in *priduri* (l. 1) and *viddhi* (l. 2).

The inscription A records the gift of a *gōḍā* by a certain Chidaṇṇa made in the presence of the Fifty (*mukā-jana*) of *Sarajavura* who had assembled together when *Indapayya* was governing the *nāḍa* district). As we are told that *Sarajavura* was situated in the *Purigere-nāḍu* the district which *Indapayya* was administering was evidently *Purigere*. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. *Indapayya* who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Ereyamma in a cattle-raid at *Nivudi* and the setting up of the stone by *Gurevamma*, the younger brother of *Polide-gāṇṇa*.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of *Akhilavarsha* and are dated in the Saka year 805 and A gives, in addition, *Sōbhakṛt* as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. *Akhilavarsha* of the records whose proper name *Kannara-bhaṭṭāra* is also given in A is no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king *Kṛishṇa II*, the successor of *Amoghavarsha I* for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 230.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1903, p. 132, No. 70.

³ *Ibid.* p. 131, No. 72.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 235, l. 2, 2.

⁵ See for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1925-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.

date hitherto available for Kṛṣṇa II was A.D. 588.¹ The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amoghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned *Sarajavura* is the modern *Sarajūr* where inscription A was found. *Nivudī* has probably to be identified with *Nigadi*, a village about 8 miles south-west of *Dharwar*.

TEXT.

A

- 1 ॐ Svasti Śrī||* Akālavarishā(varaha) prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha)
māra-jādi(mahārājādhi)raja]
- 2 paramēvara(a) śrinat-Kannāra-bhaṭṭā]rara rājy-ābhivri(vī)dhī saluttun-ai.
- 3 re Śaka-nṛpa-kāi-ātita-sambā(va)tsaramgaī-eṇṭu-nūr-āyda(ayda)ne[ya*]
S(Ś)-
- 4 bhakṛit ambha(va) ambha(va)tsaram pra(va*)ttise Indāpāyyām(Indapayyam)nāḍḍa-
ā]utt-i.
- 5 re Purigere-nāga Sarajavura-d-ā(a)yvaḍimbarun-ā]hu nāḍayise Māna-
- 6 sigara-(hida)(da)ṇṇa[th*] gēṇ-
- 7 sam-i]do[m]
- 8 stan-ābhaviddhi|||*]
- 9 nama[h](ॐ)

B

- 1 Svasty-Akālavarsha śrī-prithuvī(prithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēvara
bhaṭṭara[ā]
- 2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivriḍḍi]ge saluttun-ire Sa(Sa)ka-varaham-eṇṭu-nūga
- 3 aydaneya varaham pravartisutt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pāṇḍa Eṇṇammā Nivudi-
tunṇo]e-kā-
- 4 di naitom|| I kalla Pa]ḍe-gāvanda[na*] tamma Gṇṇamma niriḍḍo||

No. 36.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 387.

By the late Mr. R. D. BAKERJI, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Siladitya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāchhāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.²

The record is inscribed on two plates, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the seal of the Maitrakas of Valabhi bearing the bull couchant and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhaṭṭakā*. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 15" x 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

¹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

² This letter on which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later.

³ P. E. A. S. W. C., 1915-16, p. 65, para. 10.

from the Bhāvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kāthiāwār.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The characters of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *k* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *k* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhi grants such as the Alina Plates of Śilāditya VI¹, without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhi grants this record also mentions Bhaṭārka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhaṭārka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasēna, the son of Bhaṭārka's fourth son Dharapaṭṭa. Then comes Guhasēna's son Dharasēna II, his sons Śilāditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasēna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasēna III, the son of Dērabhaṭa who was one of the younger sons of Śilāditya I. Dhruvasēna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śilāditya II's) son Śilāditya III, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pādāvaritas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *pathaka* of Kalāpaka in (the country) of Surāshtra to a Brāhmaṇa, with two names Śaggala and Prakāśa, who was a Dīkṣita, an inhabitant of Valabhi and an immigrant from Pushyāśāmbapura. He was the son of Sāmbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and was a follower of the Yajurveda. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pādāvaritas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the *Brahmadāya* field of the Upādhyāya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhāṣiyaka and on the north the Vanāśatikā river. A new word *prachchikā* which is also met with in other Valabhi plates* occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pādāvaritas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brāhmaṇa ghaṇḍaka, on the south the field of the Brāhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brāhmaṇa chaṭṭa, and on the north the rivulet (*Sāriṇī*). The third piece was called Luṣaṇikā. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pādāvarita* measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kappasūmaka, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirūdayaka, on the west the *prachchikā* of the well called Dhōraka, and on the north the river Vanāśatikā. The grant also contained the well called Dhōraka extending over twenty-five *pādāvaritas*. The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called Luṣaṇikā, to the south the *prachchikā* of the well called Śirūdayaka, to the west the *prachchikā* of the well called the Pippala and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (i.e., the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dātaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputra*) Dhruvasēna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Dicirapata*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Sandhi-*

* G. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 173 ff.

* Cf. the unpublished Jesar plates of Śilāditya IV and J. B. R. A. S. (N.S.), Vol. I, p. 74, l. 49, and above, p. 184.

vijayādhikāra the illustrious Skandabhāṣya. The date of the grant is the (Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śūśāṭya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II. With the exception of Valabhi and Sūśāṭya, which are represented by modern Wāṣā and Sorath in Kathiawār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti² [1*] Vijaya-akandhāvāra [1*] Puṇḍhikazaka-vāṇakā [1*] prastabha-praṇat-
āmitrāgāh Mastrakāśmā³.....

Second Plate.

- 47 samāgama-śākhānukūṭānām-āyudhāḥ dyaḥpatāḥ Paramasūbha-
varah⁴ śrī-Śūśāṭyaś-kulāl⁵ sarvān-eva samājñāpayaty-asu vas-sādhvīdātāḥ
48 yathā mayā mātā-pitṛāḥ puṇy-āpyāyāṇyā Puṇyāśāṇhapura-viṇyagarta-tach-
chāturvidyā-sūśāṇyā-śrī-Valabhi-viśatvā-Kaṇḍika-sagōtra-ādhyatvā-sārahmahārī-
49 Brāhmana-Sūśādatta-putra-Brāhmana-Saggāḥ-Prakāśa-dvīnāma-Dhōṣhīyā Sūśāḥrēṣṭu
Kaḥḥlāpaka-puthako Kukkapaḍra-grāmā bhū-pādāvarita-sata-parimāṇam
50 tri-khaṇḍ-āvasthitam kahōṛaś yatra prathama-khaṇḍaś apara-simul⁶ śrī-saptati-
bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam yasya-āghōṣṭanāni pūrvarataḥ upādhyāya-brāhma-
dōya-kahōṛaś dakṣhiṇataḥ
51 rājakyā-vāpi-traya-prachchihā aparataḥ [Bhāṭiyaka]-kahōṛam uttarataḥ Vādā-
jikā nadi tathā dvitīya-khaṇḍaś apara-dakṣhiṇa-simul⁶ Bappala-samjñitāḥ
dvādala-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam
52 yasya pūrvarataḥ Brāhmana-Śāśhaka-satka-kahōṛam dakṣhiṇataḥ Brāhmana-
Tatta-kahōṛam aparataḥ Brāhmana-Chayya-satka-kahōṛam uttarataḥ śrīś
tathā pūrva-simul⁶
53 triṭṭīḥya-khaṇḍaś Lōṣanika-samjñitāḥ pañchadala-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam yasya
pūrvarataḥ Kaṇḍanaka-grāmā-simul⁶ dakṣhiṇataḥ Śirāḍaṇḍaka-samjñita-vāpinā
prachchihā
54 aparataḥ Dhōṛika-samjñita-vāpi-prachchihā uttarataḥ Vādājikā nadi tathā
śat-simul⁶-eva Dhōṛika-samjñitā pañcha-viśati-bhū-pādāvarita-parimāṇam vāpi
55 yasya pūrvarataḥ Lōṣanika-samjñita-kahōṛa-khaṇḍaś dakṣhiṇataḥ Śirāḍaṇḍaka-
samjñita-vāpinā⁷ prachchihā aparataḥ Pippala-vāgā prachchihā uttarataḥ
56 grāmā-śikṛata evam-īdām-āghōṣṭana-vāṇḍham vāpi-kahōṛam śīrāṇḍaś adparikaram
śa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyāś śa-dhānya-hiranyā-śdōyāś śa-dāśapāśhāśh śāpadya-
māna-vi-
57 śhikam sarva-rājakyānām-akama-prakāśya [palāyāś pūrva-pratta-dēva-brāhma-
dōya-rakṣitāḥ bhūmi-śchchhātra-nyāyāś-śchchandr-ārka-ārṇava-kṣhīrī-sarī-pārva-
sūma-kāśmāḥ pu-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śūśāṭya III. cf. for example, Lōṣanika plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 79 ff.

³ The termination is after vāpi may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit vāpi, in which case vāpi and Dandaka may be two separate wells; or more likely a preserver of the modern Vispatti passive term—Bā.

- 58 tra-pantr-ānaya-bhōgram-udak-ānaggaḥ¹ dharmma-dāyā nīpātāḥ² yatō-sy-
 śchitayā brahmadēya-śhityā bhūjātāḥ kṛtātāḥ karṣayātāḥ pratidīśātō
 vā nā kalāśhid-vyākṣhā
- 59 varttitavyam-āgāmi-bhādra-nīpātībhīr-apy-śamād-vanta-jair-ānyair-vvā anītyāny-
 kīśvāryāy-śathīrāṇi māmāśyāṇi tāmāryāḥ-cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagach-
 chīadbhīr-ayam-śamād-dāyō-nūmantyavyaḥ paripālayitavya-
- 60 ś-śch-ēty-uktāḥ-śch[³] Bahubhīr-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābh[³]-Sagar-ādibhi-
 [b³] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-śasya śasya tadā phalam⁴ Yān-śha
 dāritrya-bhayān-narēndīr-ādīhanāni dharm-āyatani-kṛtāni [b³] nirbhukta-
 mātya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-
- 61 na śākh[³]-punaḥ-śādīta⁵ Śhaśh[³] varṣa-sahaśrāṇi avargyā tishthati
 bhūmīdāh [b³] śchchhīśhīśh ch-ānūmantā cha tāny-śva narakō vāsī⁶ [b³]
 Dūtākō-tra Rājaputra-Dhruvaśānāḥ⁷
- 62 Lūkhītam-īlām Sandhivīgrah-śākhīrīta-Divirapati-Śri-Skandabhāṇa-putra-Divirapati-
 Śrīmad-Anahīlās-ēti⁸ Śarā 100 40 7 Valśātha-vā 15 Sya-hastō mama⁹

No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

BY DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GOKULY, M.A., Ph.D., BENARÉS.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmanasena, the fourth king of the Śēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulla copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpanāgiri copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmanasena's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chappī, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Śiva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Bangiya Sāhitya-Pariśat who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ranesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sāhitya-parīśat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 218 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Bangiya Sāhitya-Pariśat.*

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides, and measures 1' 6½" long and 1' 2" broad. A seal representing an effigy of Śaśhīva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *śākh-śāpāś*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *cruṣṭi*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *anīmāyāna* in line 46 are indistinct.

* Read *śākhīrīta*.* Read *śākhī*.

* I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattachāṇī, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Banik, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The characters are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmapasēna's grants. *ṣ*, *t*, *m*, *n*, *y*, *r* and *ś* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (cf. ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *s* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulā plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *nd*, and *ñā*.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 53 are in verse, with the exception of *śaśaśeṣa*, etc., at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *duṣṭha* is written as *duṭha* (l. 3) as in the Anulā plate. *Tripuṣṭirindha* is written as *Tripuṣṭirādha* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *rcaryya*, **r-rcamadhā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), etc. The words *buddhā* and *dattā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of Lakshmapasēna, the son of Vallālasēna, grand-son of Vijayasēna, and the great-grand-son of Hēmantasēna. The Deopara inscription¹ of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription² mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great queen). The Baranpukur inscription³ of the same king designates Hēmantha as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmapasēna. But the Madhainagar copper-plate⁴ of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauḍa, defeated the Kings of Kalinga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmātūpa.

The object of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmapasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *śrēṇas* of land, comprising a part of Nirmāpātaka, and the whole of the five *pāṭakas* of Rāghavahatta, Vārahakōṣā, Vallihitā, Vijahārapura, and Dāmaravajñā, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Mallugirimandala, attached to Kuṁbhīnamata, in the Dakṣiṇāvāhī of Uttara-Rāgha, in the Kāśhagrāmabhukti. The lands comprising Vārahakōṣa, Vallihitā, Rāghavahatta, and part of Nirmāpātaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikunḍā along with Aparājñī; in the south by Bhāgaḍikhaṇḍakabhētra, in the west by the cow-track of Acchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pāṭakas* of Vijahārapura and Dāmaravajñā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Uḥākalyājñī; on the south by Vipravaddhājñī, on the west by Lāṅgalājñī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parājāṇa. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Koparḍaka-parīṇas*).⁵ The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kāśhtrapātaka, which yielded five hundred (*Koparḍaka-parīṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayā⁶ Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kāśhtrapātaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*śāśpāṭkraya*) the above-mentioned six *pāṭakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kāśhtrapātaka.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 366 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵ Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

⁶ [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayā or Gayānt Brāhman—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, viz., Varāṇḍī, Rājha, Vaṅga, and Samatāṣa. Varāṇḍī represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhi Division and Rājha comprised South-west Bengal. Rājha or Rājdhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rājha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgirathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhūm District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *maṇḍala*s and *viśaya*s. The exact relation between a *maṇḍala* and a *viśaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *maṇḍala* as a subdivision of *viśaya*. The divisions of a *maṇḍala* were *khaṇḍalas*¹ and *vihā*.² The Nālandā³ plate of Dāvapāla states that Kumudāsūtra-vihā was within the Gāvā-viśaya. The Nāhati plate⁴ of Vallālasēna refers to a *vihā* which was within the jurisdiction of a *maṇḍala*. This suggests that *vihā* was a division of a *maṇḍala* and a subdivision of a *viśaya*. The relation between *khaṇḍala* and *vihā* is not known. The division of *vihā* seems to have been a *khāṇḍikā*. The Khalimpur plate⁵ of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṇḍikā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate⁶ of Lakshmaṇasēna refers to a *khāṇḍikā*. Between *khāṇḍikā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *vratta*. *Vratta* was divided into *chaturaka*,⁷ *chaturaka* into *grāma*⁸ and *grāma* into *pāṇaka*.⁹

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, viz., Paṇḍravardhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Paṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhi Division,¹⁰ but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vaṅga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division¹¹ east of the Bhāgirathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgirathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhūm, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.¹² The Nāhati plate of Vallālasēna,¹³ issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (circa 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rājha formed a *maṇḍala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmaṇasēna, issued in the 6th year (circa 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rājdhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmaṇasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rājha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

² The *Deopurina* describes Mathurā as a *vihā* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 72).

³ *Above*, Vol. XVII, p. 321.

⁴ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 38.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 80, l. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 43-43.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.

⁹ *Gauda Lākhāṇā*, p. 133, V.

¹⁰ *Above*, Vol. XV, p. 140; *Ibid.*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 97.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

later *Śākṣī* was in existence in the 3rd year of Lakṣmīnaraṇa. The *Ajaya* *Śākṣī* in the boundary between northern and southern Rājha must then have been the boundary between the two *Śākṣī*. The *Kaṅkagrāma-Śākṣī* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgpur on the north-west of Utiara-Rājha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place *Kaṅkagrāma* from which the *Śākṣī* took its name can be identified with Kāṅkajol (24° 48' N. Lat. 87° 15' E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Birbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham¹ calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmaṇḍal and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rājha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rājha formed part of the southern subdivision (*śikṣā*) of the *Kaṅkagrāma* territory (*śākṣī*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rājha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kendua in the neighbourhood of Kāṅkajol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Mohammedan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.

The name of the ancient *Madhugiri-saṅgāḍa* may be recognised in the present *Mahāṅgāḍi*, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,557 feet above sea level and situated about 23 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkajol and 20 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kumbhīnagara* may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhāt P. S. of the Birbhum District. The river *Mōra* is the modern Mor (also known as *Mayūrākhali*) which flows through the Birbhum District. *Kumārapura* still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3½ miles north of the Mor. *Vārahakōṣā* is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ¼ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōṣā* and *koṣā* are interchangeable according to the usage in the Birbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Birbhum District probably represents the ancient *Vijahārapura*. Mr. N. K. Bhattacharya identifies *Nimā* and *Vālihitā* with the modern villages of Nima and Baluti in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5½ miles west of Kumārapura. He also identifies *Achchhamā* with the modern village of Amua in P. S. Suri, ¼ a mile north of Sainthia and *Parajāṇa* with that of Palijana, a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Baluti are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern *Kāṇḍā* river, passing north of Nima and Baluti, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the *Sāma* period. (*Bārkōṣā* would be a better equivalent of *Vārahakōṣā* and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Baluti, and the river Mor drags *qumār* at some distance to the south.—Ed.)

The Saktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *dr̥ṣya*.¹ From the other records of the Sena kings we know that several *dr̥ṣya* make one *palaka*. *Dr̥ṣya* was again divided into *ādhaka* or *ādhacēpa*, *ādhaka* into *uṣmāna*, and *uṣmāna* into *kāḥa* or *bākinika*.² *Dr̥ṣya* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "*nala*". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of *Vṛishabhastāṅkara-nala*. *Vṛishabhastāṅkara* being an appellation of Vijayasena,³ the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena refers to *Samantatīya-nala*.⁴ The Govindapur copper-plate⁵ of Lakshmanasena which records the grant of a village in the *Vardhamāna-bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubera was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithvīdhara and great-grand-son of Anuraddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghaṭakas* (match-makers),⁶ we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmanasena three brothers⁷ named Dōvala, Vāmāna and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmārthā, grand-sons of Pūhō and great-grand-sons of Anuraddha. If Pūhō is a contraction of Prithvīdhara⁸ (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmārthā, the Kubera of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dōvala and Vāmāna are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brāhman) from Lakshmanasena but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hārya Gāṅguli, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from *Vallāhasena*.⁹ The loss of "Kulinism" does not however seem to have prevented the Brāhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Bean as Sam 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvaga. Mr. Bhattacharya (with whom I concur) corrects it as Sam 6, the 7th day of Śrāvaga.¹⁰

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment, of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmanasena) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (solar) Śrāvaga, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvaga fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvaga and in 1189 A.D. over three weeks after the date. The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

¹ *Dr̥ṣya* is the same as *dr̥ṣya* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *palaka* of the Sena period was however a larger unit than the *dr̥ṣya* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *dr̥ṣya*, while the latter was made up of 8 *dr̥ṣya*.—Ed.]

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 73, 90, 104.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97, *śat-dīṣya-samantatīya-śat-pāṇḍita-śat-ādhaka-parimita-kulīna*.

⁶ *Brāhṇa-dīṣya* *Itihāsa*, by N. N. Ban, *Brāhṇa-saṅgṛha*, p. 140.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁸ Cf. *Pithurā* for *Prithvīdhara*.—Ed.]

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

¹⁰ Cf. the numeral "3" in the Amila plate, l. 56, and in *Sāhitya-parīkṣā* copper-plate of *Vṛishabhastāṅkara*, l. 55, and the numeral "6" in the latter l. 59.

that the date of Lakshmapasēna's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Śrīdhara's *Saṅkṣiṭa-Kāryānṛita*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmapasēna's reign.—Ed.]

The date of the grant was the *Sāṅkṣīgrāhika* Tripurārinātha. The Govindapur plate,¹ dated Sam 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anulla plate,² dated Sam 2, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmapasēna state that the *Sāṅkṣīgrāhika* Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārinātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmapasēna's reign.

TEXT.

Omnes.

- 1 सिद्धम् [१^a] ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[द्य]त्र भणियुतिः फणियतेज्यां(ज्यां)-
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि स्वर्गतरङ्गिनी मि-
- 2 तमिरोमान्ना व(व)नाकावलिः [१^a] ध्यानाभ्यास[म^a]मीरणीपनिहित(तः) ज्योद्गुरोद्भूतये
भूयाहः स भवार्तितापमिदु-
- 3 रः यन्मोः कपर्दीम्बु(म्बु)दः³ ॥[११^a] चानन्दोम्बु(म्बु)निधौ चकारनिकरे दु^x-
च्छिदाखल(लि)को कङ्गारे हतमो-
- 4 इता रतिपताविकोहमेवेति धीः [१^a] यस्यामी चमृतात्मनः समुदयन्वाय प्रकाया-
ज्वगल-
- 5 विध्वानपरम्परापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदास्ताम्बुदे⁴ ॥[११^a] सिंवावनम्बुपकोटिकिरीट-
रोचिर-
- 6 स्फु(म्बु)लसत्पटनस्फुटितिवज्ररीभिः [१^a] तेजोविषज्वरसुयो दिपतामभूवन् भूमोभुज(जः)
स्फुटमवौध-
- 7 चिन्तायवर्ग⁵ ॥[११^a] आकौमारविकस्मरेर्हिशि दिशि पम्पन्दिभिर्होयंशः-
प्राप्त्यैररिराज⁶वज्जनलि-
- 8 श्रुानीः⁷ समुम्बोलयन् [१^a] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सैनजननचेत्रस⁸ पुष्पावलीमालि-
चाध्यविपाकपीव-

¹ *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 91.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: *Sāṅkṣīgrāhika*.

⁵ Metre: *Sāṅkṣīgrāhika*.

⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

⁷ *Ripartita* in Anulla and Govindapur plates.

⁸ Read *salim-milāṭi*.

⁹ *Kahle-angha* in Anulla and Tarpanlight plates.

- 9 रगुणस्तेषामभूदंगजः¹ ॥[8॥*] यदीयेरद्यापि पचितभुजः स्फुटं² सङ्घचरैर्यशोभिः
शोभन्ते परिधि-
- 10 परिण्डा इव दिगः [1*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराभोधिलहरीपरीतीर्त्तमर्त्ताः³
जनि विज-
- 11 यमेन[ः*] स विजयी⁴ ॥[५॥*] प्रत्युक्तः कलिसम्पदासनलसो वेदायनेकाध्वगः
संपामः चितजङ्गमा-
- 12 कतिरभूदज्ञानमेनस्ततः [1*] यद्येतोमयमेव गौर्यविजयी दत्तौषधं⁵ तत्तृचना-
दक्षीणा रचयाच्च-
- 13 कार वगमाः स्वस्मिन् परेषां त्रियः⁶ [६॥*] संभुक्तान्वदिगङ्गनामणगुणाभोगप्रलोभादि-
गामरीगैरंग-
- 14 समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः [1*] दोषाच्चपितारिमङ्गररसो⁷ राजन्यधर्माश्रयः
श्रीम-
- 15 ज्ञानमेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यमीमाजनि⁸ ॥[७॥*] गण्डह(ह)भभयादिमुक्तविषयास्त-
न्मावनिष्ठीकृत-
- 16 स्वान्ता यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्ञयम् [1*] येराक्तप्रतिविम्बि-
(विम्बि)तेपि निपतत्यत्रेपि⁹ वञ्चतु-
- 17 वेप्यहेतेन यतस्ततोपि संपरो देवः परं वीच्यते¹⁰ ॥[८॥*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-
समावासितश्रीम-
- 18 ज्ञयस्कन्धावारात्—। महाराजाधिराजश्रीवज्रालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात¹¹ । परमेश्वरपर-
19 मभट्टारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमज्ज्ञानसेनदेवः कुमली । ससुप-
20 गतामेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञीराजकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-
21 हाधर्माध्यक्षमहासांख्यविक्रमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृतम¹² न्तरङ्ग-
22 वृ(ह)ष्टदुपरिकमहाचपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

¹ Metre : Śāṅkharīśrīḥ.

² Read *bhaya-tajit* as in other inscriptions.

³ Read *chakra-sambhūti*.

⁴ Metre : Śāṅkharīśrīḥ.

⁵ Read *gata-sambhūti*.

⁶ Metre : Śāṅkharīśrīḥ.

⁷ *Kalyāṇī* in the Govindapur plate.

⁸ Metre : Śāṅkharīśrīḥ.

⁹ Mr. Basu remarks that the word *atya* is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.

¹⁰ Metre : Śāṅkharīśrīḥ.

¹¹ *Danda* unnecessary; read *dhya* from.

¹² Read *krīṭ* from.

- 23 गणस्यदौःसाधिकचौरौहरणिकनौषलहृत्पञ्चगोमहिषाजाविकादिव्याधृतकगौक्षि-
- 24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविषय*]पत्न्यादीन् अन्धां च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोश्च-
प्रचारो-
- 25 कानिहाकीर्तितान् चहभट्टजातीयान् चेचकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्
यथाहं मान-
- 26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा योमधुगिरिमण्डला-
वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर
- 27 प्रतिवहः काइयामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तररादायां कुमारपरचतुरस्रं पूर्वं
अप-
- 28 राजोलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभुः सीमा दक्षिणे त्र(त्र)हस्यलीयभागडीसखक्षेत्रं
सीमा
- 29 पश्चिमे अच्छभागोपधः सीमा उत्तरे मौस्तदीसीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः
पट्चिग[इ]द्रोणात्मक[*]
- Reverend.*
- 30 सम्बत्सरेण साईशतदयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावास्त्रिहितानिमापाटकसम्ब(स्व)स्मिभूद्रो-
- 31 णचतुष्टयोपेत्पाटकइयसमेतराधवहृत्पाटकसुधाचतुरके पूर्वं चाकलियाको-
- 32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवडाजोलीसीमा । पश्चिमे आहृणजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे
परजाण-
- 33 गोपधः सीमा इत्यं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नविपञ्चागद्रोणात्मकः सम्बत्सरेण साईश-
- 34 तदयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद(इ)यविलिखित-
- 35 नामसीमं स्वसीमायवच्छिन्नं देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणादिभूव(व)र्चि[*]गोपयाद्यभूः वास्तुभू-
मक्ति इयभग-
- 36 इरनलन उ(ज)ननयतिभूद्रोणात्मकं सम्बत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं राधवहृ-
वारह-
- 37 कोणानिमावस्थितखण्डचेचभूद्रोणचतुष्टयात्मकवास्त्रिहितापाटकदामरवडा-
- 38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् पट्पाटकं सभाटपिटयं सजलखलं सग-
- 39 तीपरं मगुवाजनारिकेतं मण्डदशापरधं परिहृतसर्वपोडं अचहमहप्रवेश-
- 40 मकिञ्चित्प्रगाष्टं दणपुतिगोचरपर्यन्तं । अनिरुद्धदेवगर्भणः प्रयोवाय
- 41 पृथ्वीधरदेवगर्भणः पौवाय अनन्तदेवगर्भणः पुवाय शाण्डिल्यसगोवाय गा-

* [Cf. *Dakṣiṇāyana-sūtra* in the Pāharpur plate, above Vol. XX, p. 61.—Ed.]

* Probably we have to read *gopāth-ady-anta-lā-bhūjaka*. [Cf. 1. 24 of Targuiyāli copper plate, *Asp. p.*
time of King III, p. 102.—Ed.]

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[illegible]

- 42 ण्डित्वासितदेवप्रवराय सामवेदकौमुदमशास्त्राचरणानुष्ठायिते चाचार्य्यो-
 43 कुवेरदेवशर्मणे पुण्ये चरुनि विधिवदुदकपूर्वकं भगवन् श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टा-
 44 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापितृराजन्य पुण्ययशोभिहृदये । श्रीवज्रालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-
 45 मयालप्रा(त्रा)क्षणहरिदामेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकच(से)चपाटकाभिधानशास-
 46 नो(न)[विनिम]येन एतद्राववह्नादिपट्टपाटकस्मृत्येकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-
 47 तोत्पत्तियोषं के(से)चपाटकं कोटीकृत्य यस्मै पुनर्व्या(न्या)ख्याय श्रीकुवेराभिधानाय
 सूर्ययज्ञे
 48 एतत्समुत्पत्त्याचन्द्रार्कं तितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रव्याधेन तास्वशासनीकृत्य दत्त-
 49 मस्माभिस्तद्भवतिः सर्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [1*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे
 नरकपात-
 50 भयात् पालने धर्मगौरवात् पालनीयं [1*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्मानुशंसिनः
 लोकाः । भूमिं
 51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [1*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं
 स्वर्गशामिनौ ॥[८८]*
 52 व(र)हमिर्बसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 [तस्य] तदा फलं(लम्)² ॥[१००]* आस्मोट-
 53 यन्ति पितरो वक्ष्यायन्ति पितामहाः[1*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नखाता
 भविष्यति ॥[११०]* पट्टिं वर्ष-
 54 सचक्ष्माणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] चासेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं
 व्रजेत् ॥[१२०]* स्वदत्ता
 55 परदत्ताम्ना यो हरेत् वसुधरां [1*] स विष्ठायां क्रिमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह-
 पचते ॥[१३०]* इति कमल-
 56 दत्ताम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1*] सकलमिदमुदा-
 हृतञ्च बुधा न हि
 57 पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[१४०]* श्रीमन्नारायणसेनचोणीन्द्रः सान्निविप्रहि-
 कम् [1*] क्षिप्र-
 58 रिनाह(य)मकरोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥[१५०]* स ६¹⁰ चावणदिने ७¹¹
 श्रीनिमहाशानि [1*]

¹ This is redundant.

² Metre : Anushtubh.

³ Read *Andhant*.

⁴ Base reads 3.

⁵ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁶ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁷ Metre : Paśyatiyā.

⁸ Base reads 2.

⁹ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹⁰ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹¹ Metre : Upagiti.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

By K. V. SUBRAMANYA AYYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishnu temple of Veñkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ at Tirumukkūḍal in the Maṭṭurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.¹ There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.² The village of Tirumukkūḍal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vāḡavatt and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūḍal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (streams)'. The temple of Veñkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a promontory on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūḍal is about two miles from Palaiya-Sivaram, a small station next to Walajahad in the Conjeevaram-Chingleput section of the South-Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishnu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeevotam and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name *Tiruvēḷkaṭamalai*.

The temple of Veñkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nripataṅga-Vīraśarvarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.³ According to this inscription, the god is called *Vishnu-Bhaṭṭāra*. It was known by the name of Tirumukkūḍal-Āṭṭār and Mahā-Vishnu during Chōḷa times,⁴ while a later epigraph calls it by the name *Veñkaṭēśvara-evaṃvān*.⁵

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamil language** and alphabet, and the characters belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

³ No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

⁴ Nos. 169 and 183 of the same collection.

⁵ No. 457 of the same collection.

gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kalasāṇu* and 9 *mañjūṣāḥ*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *nājabāṇari* measure, per *kalasāṇu*, amounted to 2352 *kalam*, 1 *padakkā*, 3 *nāḷi*, 1 *āṇakku* and 3 *śeṇḍu*¹. This when converted into *arumoliddam* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *āṇi*, 3 *nāḷi* and 1 *āṇakku* after providing for *kāḷēṇi*, *kāḷāṇu-kāḷi* and *korraṇu-ēṇi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *āṇi* and 1 *nāḷi* of *arumoliddam* for each *nājabāṇari kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *āṇi*, 1 *padakkā*, 6 *nāḷi*, 1 *āṇakku* and 3 *śeṇḍu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 2164 *kāṇu* and 2 *maḥ*. It was made up of 26½ *kāṇu* obtained by converting 11 *kalasāṇu* of gold derived from the taxes or fees: 9½ *kalasāṇu* (=1 *kalasāṇu*), *ṭumara-kachchāṇu* (=1 *kalasāṇu*), *maṇi-pōḷḷam* (=½ *kalasāṇu*) and *kīṇṇi-pōḷḷam* (=5½ *kalasāṇu*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāṇu* and 4 *maḥ* from *dalavandam*, 25½ *kāṇu* and 3 *maḥ* from *maṇṇakkāḷi*, 3 *kāṇu* from *malal kalam*, 1½ *kāṇu* from *maṇṇakkāḷi*, ½ *kāṇu* from *tarippuṇḍaram*, 1½ *kāṇu* from *tiṅgalmeṇḍu* and 118 *kāṇu* from *vāḷikkāṇu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216½ *kāṇu* and 2 *maḥ* of money. The table appended hereto² will indicate how the means of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vedic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Ālvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, i.e., Rāma at noon (namely 601 *kalasāṇu*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūram* and *ṭuḷkuma* and for lamps (68½ *kāṇu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippaṇi, Māḷi, Kārttigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyaṣṭami (the birth-day of Kṛishṇa) (28 *kalam*, 1 *kuruppi* and 5½ *nāḷi*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism *Āśvika* in the month *Āyāṇi* (6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruppi* and 2 *nāḷi*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūrṇimā* in the month of Kārttigai) of the Vaiṣya Mādavaṇḍa Dāmayaṇ, who built the Jananātha-maṇḍapa in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruppi* and 2 *nāḷi*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity *Vengalakkūṭāṣṭvāṇ*, i.e., Kṛishṇa in procession on the day of *Tiruvōḍam* in the month of Puraṭṭāṇi of every year (5 *kalam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vāḷahṇavaṇ on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kuruppi* and 4 *nāḷi*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvōḍam* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of *Vimāḍḷaṇ*, the *Vaikhāṇasa-dēvakaymāḷi* (priests worshipping the deity according to the *Vaikhāṇasa* mode), accountant, poet and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kuruppi*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchurumōḷigai*, i.e., the inner enclosure (49 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāṇu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a Vedic college in this temple. One teacher taught the Rīg-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāṇu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhāṭṭa expounded *Vyākaraṇa* and *Rūpāvatāra*:³ he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāṇu*, i.e., a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vedic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmins who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and students who studied the *Vyākaraṇa* and the *Rūpāvatāra* and 10 *Mahā-pāṇḍharāṭras*, 3

¹ The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here:—1 *kalam* = 12 *kuruppi* or 1 *āṇi* or 6 *padakkā*; 1 *āṇi* = 8 *nāḷi*; 1 *nāḷi* = 2 *śeṇḍu*; 1 *śeṇḍu* = 2 *āṇakku*; 1 *āṇakku* = 2 *āṇakku* and 1 *āṇakku* = 6 *śeṇḍu*.

² See p. 229 f. below.

³ On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Valkhāṇas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṇṇi* of paddy and 37½ *kāṭu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the R̥g-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavātara but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñcāśātra,¹ Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Valkhāṇas, it may be inferred that the āgamas and tantras—such as the Pāñcāśātra, Śaiva and Vaikhāṇasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*² occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Śaiva-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Pavaiya-kūṭippuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.³ Another inscription of the same time⁴ registers a similar gift of land as *Tattiriga-kūṭippuram*, i.e., for teaching the students of the *Tattiriga-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvorriyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-eritti*, *śākhayana-eritti* and *Bhalla-eritti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṃsā (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions, existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the maintenance of a hospital wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāṭu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Virarājag, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāṭu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāṭu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

¹ The Pāñcāśātra was so called because it had five Saṁhitās, viz., Pāraṁśivara, Sāttvata, Viśvakṣetra, Khagdivara and Śrī-Pamhāra. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñcāśātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *śākhā* and *grantha*.

² *Kūṭaraja* and *parakkal* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

³ *South Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kūṭu* in Tamil means a teacher and *periyar*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Ekāryāka*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the R̥g-Vēda.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 315.

barber who received 15 *kāṣa* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *śāḍi* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2½ *kāṣa* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kāṣa* of paddy for the water-man and 10 *kāṣa* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were:—

- (1) *Brāhmyam-kāṣumbūri*, (2) *Vāśā-haritaki*, (3) *Gō-mūtra-haritaki*, (4) *Dala-mūla-haritaki*, (5) *Bhallātaka-haritaki*, (6) *Gaṇḍīra*, (7) *Balākāraṇḍa-taila*, (8) *Pañchāka-taila*, (9) *Lakṣmādy-āraṇḍa-taila*, (10) *Uttama-karṇāḍi-taila*, (11) *Śukla*, (12) *sa-gṛīta*, (13) *Bilvāḍi-gṛīta*, (14) *Mayājāra-vaṭika*, (15) *Dravattī*, (16) *Vimala*, (17) *Sāṁśī*, (18) *Tāmarāḍi*, (19) *Vajrakalpā*, (20) *Kalyāṇaka-lavaya* and (21) *Pūrāṇa-gṛīta*.

Of these medicines, No. (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasāyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Saṁhita*, chapter I, and *Aśtāṅgahridaya*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows:—1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *embellie myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (i.e. of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of *myrobalans* without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulse of 4 *palas* each of *maṇḍūka-piṇḍa*, *peppali*, *śaṅkhāpūṣkī*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *śāḍikas* of oil and 3 *śāḍikas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 57th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka* and in chapter VI of *Sūtrāṅga-Saṁhita*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-haritaki* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. *Sūtrāṅga* states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇḍu-rōga*, *Vāṇbhata* (chapter XVI) says that *haritaki* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from *Charaka*.

No. (4) is described in the *Aśtāṅgahridaya*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *dalamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lāṣya* and mixing with it the powder of *trijātā*, *trikāṣṭhā*, and a little of *yava-śāka* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercles, rheumatism, hemorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No. (6) is meant *Gaṇḍīrāśṭhāyikā*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Saṁhita*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gṛīta* (milk), (2) *śukla* (white), (3) *ballātaka* (*seminarpus anacardium*), (4) *śukra* (plumbago), (5) *śukra* (plumbago), (6) *śukra* (plumbago), (7) *śukra* (plumbago), (8) *śukra* (plumbago), (9) *śukra* (plumbago), (10) *śukra* (plumbago), (11) *śukra* (plumbago), (12) *śukra* (plumbago), (13) *śukra* (plumbago), (14) *śukra* (plumbago), (15) *śukra* (plumbago), (16) *śukra* (plumbago), (17) *śukra* (plumbago), (18) *śukra* (plumbago), (19) *śukra* (plumbago), (20) *śukra* (plumbago), (21) *śukra* (plumbago), (22) *śukra* (plumbago), (23) *śukra* (plumbago), (24) *śukra* (plumbago), (25) *śukra* (plumbago), (26) *śukra* (plumbago), (27) *śukra* (plumbago), (28) *śukra* (plumbago), (29) *śukra* (plumbago), (30) *śukra* (plumbago), (31) *śukra* (plumbago), (32) *śukra* (plumbago), (33) *śukra* (plumbago), (34) *śukra* (plumbago), (35) *śukra* (plumbago), (36) *śukra* (plumbago), (37) *śukra* (plumbago), (38) *śukra* (plumbago), (39) *śukra* (plumbago), (40) *śukra* (plumbago), (41) *śukra* (plumbago), (42) *śukra* (plumbago), (43) *śukra* (plumbago), (44) *śukra* (plumbago), (45) *śukra* (plumbago), (46) *śukra* (plumbago), (47) *śukra* (plumbago), (48) *śukra* (plumbago), (49) *śukra* (plumbago), (50) *śukra* (plumbago), (51) *śukra* (plumbago), (52) *śukra* (plumbago), (53) *śukra* (plumbago), (54) *śukra* (plumbago), (55) *śukra* (plumbago), (56) *śukra* (plumbago), (57) *śukra* (plumbago), (58) *śukra* (plumbago), (59) *śukra* (plumbago), (60) *śukra* (plumbago), (61) *śukra* (plumbago), (62) *śukra* (plumbago), (63) *śukra* (plumbago), (64) *śukra* (plumbago), (65) *śukra* (plumbago), (66) *śukra* (plumbago), (67) *śukra* (plumbago), (68) *śukra* (plumbago), (69) *śukra* (plumbago), (70) *śukra* (plumbago), (71) *śukra* (plumbago), (72) *śukra* (plumbago), (73) *śukra* (plumbago), (74) *śukra* (plumbago), (75) *śukra* (plumbago), (76) *śukra* (plumbago), (77) *śukra* (plumbago), (78) *śukra* (plumbago), (79) *śukra* (plumbago), (80) *śukra* (plumbago), (81) *śukra* (plumbago), (82) *śukra* (plumbago), (83) *śukra* (plumbago), (84) *śukra* (plumbago), (85) *śukra* (plumbago), (86) *śukra* (plumbago), (87) *śukra* (plumbago), (88) *śukra* (plumbago), (89) *śukra* (plumbago), (90) *śukra* (plumbago), (91) *śukra* (plumbago), (92) *śukra* (plumbago), (93) *śukra* (plumbago), (94) *śukra* (plumbago), (95) *śukra* (plumbago), (96) *śukra* (plumbago), (97) *śukra* (plumbago), (98) *śukra* (plumbago), (99) *śukra* (plumbago), (100) *śukra* (plumbago).

* For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalayam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, haemorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccough.

Pañchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *guḷmas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, vinegar and *yavāgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bilvāli-ghrita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahāṇī-chikitsā-prakarana* of *Yogarāja-nūlaka*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (aegle marmelos), (2) *agni* (plumbago zeylanica), (3) *charya* (paper chaba), (4) *śrīdraka* (ginger), (5) *śrīnga-lāra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dagilka* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *tvāṭha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahāṇī*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Ashpāṅga-hridaya* deal with *Mandūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphalā*, *triyāśhaga musta*, *vēdaṅga*, *charya*, *chitraka*, *dāru*, *twāṅ*, *māśhalaka*, *granthika* and *dēn-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *māyāṇa* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrgas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anaemia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or haemorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimula* (No. 15) are *śaṅkha*, *prigāṅgu*, *nēpālī*, the *trikots* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *maricha*, *pippali*, *lōdhra*, *turu-rajani* and the *triphalā*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *patala*, *lācha* and *kaṇḍu*.

The preparation of the *earṭi* known as *Saṇḍrī* (No. 16) is described in the *Sahasraṅgīya* under *nētra-rōga-prakaraga*. A large number of drugs such as the three acids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *almus integrifolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *aschorus calamus*, *garika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pīlā-rōhini*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *lācha*, *pūṣṭya*, *patala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukṭima*, and *alhimāṇa*.

The preparation of *kalpāṅka-lavaga* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Aśa rōga* in the *Vrindamādhava*. The ingredients are the *Bhallātaka* group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, i.e., *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of *Saindhava* salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's exploits in the island of Ceylon, besides the facts known from other inscriptions¹. The historical introduction of Virarājendra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *nira vōlar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *viṇamē tūṇai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Virarājendra so far known would

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 82 ff. and 103 ff. where Dr. Hultsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Virarājendra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of Kādal-Saṅgama. Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of Gaṅgavādi, Vēṅgi and Kūḍal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn.¹ It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakāśarivarma Rājendradēva died which gave the occasion for Virarājendra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen Ulagamuḷudugaiyā as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājendradēva and completed by Virarājendra after the former's death. King Virarājendra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.² Virarājendra's dealings with Pottappi, an unnamed Kēraḷa king, as well as the younger brother of Jananātha³ and Virakāsari,⁴ the son of the Pāṇḍya king Srivallabha are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,⁵ and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōḷa king being invited to fight a combat by Aṭṭayamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēṅgi country, he directed his arm to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,⁶ and then had his appointment of victory performed.⁷ The Vēṅgi country was first invaded by Rājendra-Chōḷa P, but it appears that his successors Rājathirāja I and Rājendradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vēṅgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōḷa yoke. Rājendradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōḷas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumārī inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōḷas, won back by Virarājendra. It says—

भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं वनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्यागतं कालं वैरिमहेश्वरैरतिवलेयैर्दोन्वलिहानपि ।
 सिद्ध्वा मनुपरंपरामतिवचां विद्ध्वा च भोतामहन्तृतीमाम्बदभक्षितपतिः त्रैमेकं तं सोमयात् ।
 Before 1067 A.D., the Chōḷa sovereign burnt the city of Hampi, set up a pillar of victory at a place called Karaḷikal (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the Tungabhadra as reported in our inscription), gained victories at Bezvada, got back Kunnakuchchi (Kanyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the Chēra, defeated Vijayabāhu and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at Sattakkal, gained victories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and Kāvi and destroyed the Kālīṅga country.⁸

¹ See for instance *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. V, No. 978.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhārā for which there is no warrant.

⁴ By considering Virakāsari as the son of Srivallabha, I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. The achievements noted in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājendradēva's reign. (See No. 29 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 336.

⁷ Three additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1895. See also No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1899 and 122 of 1902.

⁸ That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the *Uttarapatha* is recorded in an inscription of Rājathirāja I found at Epādyuram (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 145).

⁹ *Tamilnad Archaeological Survey*, Vol. III, p. 148, n. 77.

¹⁰ These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 22d year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 83 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Virarājendra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a Sanskrit inscription¹ from Uchchagadurga in the Bellary district as Karadikal-nāga of which the village of Nandavādiga is said to be the face. Nandavādiga and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavādiga and Karadi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Krishna river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that "Virarājendra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyan and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōla king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Laṅkā his own." This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwanisa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kirti² when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōla sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.³ He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramaṇṇa country and to have dwelt at Tamatagāma. About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōlas and vexed the Chōla officers of revenue. And when the Chōla king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātintha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōla general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōla king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Laṅkā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Antirādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōla side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikahana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōlas pursued him even there, he went away to Vataḡiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.⁴

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōlas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Virarājendra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakāśavarman Rājendradēva, the predecessor of Virarājendra, in A.D. 1055. Rājendradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mūnābharana and captured Laṅkā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājendradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Virarājendra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōlas till late in his reign, i.e., in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttuṅga was the Chōla ruler.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VI, p. 107.

² He is said to be the eldest son of Maḡalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

³ Wijānātha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *kappūram*, *kuñbumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kālu* was 8 palams of sandal, 57½ palams of sugar, ½ a *kaṣṇu* of *kuñbumam*, 2 *nāḷi* of honey or 200 palams of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḷi* per *kālu*; 10 palams of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḷi* of paddy; and 1 *kālu* fetched 57½ palams.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Unhusked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, 2½ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and coconuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaṭṭu* or *porru* and its price was 2 *nāḷi* of paddy. A *nāḷi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *keṇṇu* of paddy was exchanged for 3 coconuts.

The geographical names that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. Gaṅgapāḍi (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkāḍ or Talakkāḍu. Vēṅgal-nāḍu (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chāḷukya kings. Tuṅgapattirai (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadra. Kōḷal Saṅgama (l. 1) or Kōḷal (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chāḷukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛishṇā and the Pañcha-Gaṅgā.¹ Kōsalai (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. Gaṅgaimānagar (l. 4), Gaṅgāpuri (l. 7) or Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uḍaiyārpālayam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājendra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1012). Irattapāḍi (l. 5) or Rattapāḍi, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Rattas. Karandai (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karañji, in the neighbourhood of Kōḷal-Saṅgama.² Kuntaja (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chāḷukya territory.³ Viśālyavāḍai (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezwaḍa. The seven Kaliṅgas (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. Iḷam (l. 7) or Ilaṅgai is Ceylon. Chakkarakkōṭṭam (l. 9) has been identified with Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace Sōnaiyanagar (l. 9) and Kāvi (l. 10). Imaiyaṁ (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and Sētu (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmaśvaram. Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumakkūḷal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. Jayaṅgondachōḷa-maṅḍalam is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Toṇḍai-maṅḍalam during the days of Rājārāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgondachōḷa. Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of Vayalukkāvēr (l. 11) and Ālpākkam (l. 43) are very near Tirumakkūḷal. Minarkuḍi in Idaiyaḷa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vijayarājendra-vaṇaṇḍu is Sōla-maṅḍalam (l. 52). Ayaṇḍampākkam in Āḡuḍi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Puḷar-kōṭṭam in Jayaṅgondachōḷa-maṅḍalam (l. 53 l.), Rājasundari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam is another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

¹ Above, XII, p. 298.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Details of Expenses.

No.	Item.	Rate.				Total expenses for the year.				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	60
Daily expenses.										
1	Sirkālai-sandi									
2	Akkāradalai	0	5	5	3	171	8	6	0	0
3	Night, Pāl-pōṭṭam	0	9	3	0	283	1	4	0	0
4	For Śrī-Rāghavashakravartin	0	3	1	0	93	0	0	0	0
		0	1	6	0	52	0	0	0	0
Special occasions and festivals.										
5	Aippai festival									
6	Māli festival					7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival					7	0	0	0	0
8	Jayantyashami					7	1	0	0	0
9	Kārttigai-Kārttigai					3	0	0	0	0
10	King's Birthday					3	11	7	0	0
11	Birth-day of Vaiṣṇa Mādevan Dāmayan					8	5	2	0	0
12	Purattai-Tiruvōgam					9	5	2	0	0
13	Feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on Anāraṣya days					3	0	0	0	0
14	Do. during Procession to Tiruvēngadamalai					19	4	4	0	0
15	Do. during Procession from Tiruvēngadamalai					8	8	3	0	0
16	Do. during Purattai-Tiruvōgam					8	8	3	0	0
17	Do. during Aippai festival					8	8	3	0	0
18	Do. during Mārgai festival					17	4	6	0	0
19	Do. during Māli-Makham					8	8	3	0	0
						17	4	6	0	0
						134	11	3	2	0
Services.										
20	Tiru									
21	Tiruvāymoḷi Songster	0	0	6	0					
22	Gardeners	0	3	0	0					
23	Special Tiru	0	4	0	0					
24	Vaiṭṭānna Deṭṭanma	0	1	0	0					
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0					
26	Potter	0	1	0	0					
27	Washerman	0	1	0	0					
28	Tirumukkūḷai Pērayan	0	0	4	0					
		0	0	4	0					
						282	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs					80	0	0	0	0
School.										
30	Rig-Vēda teacher									
31	Yajur-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0					
32	Vyākaraṇa teacher	0	2	0	0					
		0	4	0	0					
						240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students									
34	Hospital	3	10	6	0	1,402	8	0	0	0
35	Waterman	1	0	14	0	205	7	4	0	0
36	Hamacheḷam, and earthenware	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
37	Deṭṭahinā, betel-leaves, etc.					20	10	0	0	0
						1	4	2	2	3
						1,243	8	6	1	3

5 āvarum-āriyav-ōjūdiya āpadanū varum-ōlai viḍaiyoḍu-kuduttu Irattapōḍi-pipizattarū
mē-taḡu Gaṅg[ā]-kkō[ḷ]ḷaḡaiy-ēva āḷe-avan vānd-āḷi vāpaḍiḡi-a-vēḷakamum-
urattalūḥ-chindaiy[um]* magamun-tiru-ppayan-irāḍḍum tūḍ-ēḷi-ugav-iḍ-ē-iru-
maḍaḡu poliya-ppōḍ-āp-pōr-kāḷa paḡḡuḷu Karandaiyil Vallavar-[k]ḷḷai [va]ḡavu
kūpāḍ-avan ḷḷiya nāḷa-mēlum-oru-tiḡaḷi *pāṭi-ḷōḍ-ṇanda-piḡḡai pērti-avan kāḷi
keḍav-ōḷi mēḷ-kaḷāḷi-ōḷittalun-Dēvanādanū-Chittiyū-Kāḷiyū māvarum-taṇ-tān
maḷuḡiḷa-ppāy-aruḷ Irattapōḍi ḷi-araḷ ilakkamum mura-ḷḷōḷi-āḷakki muḷaḡ-
eri [mā]ḷṭi vā-kāḍa-ppūḍi-ēḡi viyāḍu viḷaiyōḷa-ttutḡapattirai-kkaraḷ Jayabattira-
ttūḡ pāḷil[um pa]ḷāḷa nāḷṭi mēḷāḷi vāḍav-a-ppirattāḡai Vallavar-āḷki-(ē)ḷḷuḍara-
kkaḍḡai ḷḷiḷi³ a-kkūṭaḷa[ḷi³]-a-mēḷan[um]* maḷkaḷum ai-nūḷi aḷi-ttān⁴

6. purakkai-yāgaiyir-pulai-kkaiyir-piṭṭaiv-udag-ellam-ariya ḍaiya-pariṣ-oru-palagaiyir-
 pulul-uvav-ṣṭadi-chchāṭṭi[pa]ṣ-amaiyū-ḥaṭṭukki padamun-ṭṭa pūṭṭa-māvedu-
 ppuṭṭil pēṭṭun-tāḥ-kai-kkoṇḍa [V]ḍḍ[ai]-nan-ṭṭiṭṭu 'miṭṭukkond-ālḍi miḷḷiḷḍ-
 keṭṭiṭṭi vallap-ṭṭiṭṭu vundu kakk-uvu soll-ma-chchōḷḷiya pōkki ellaiy-aḍ-ṭṭuttav-a-
 tṭāpai eḷḷi **Vijayavāḍaiyōḍ-ṭṭutta** pēr-ṭṭ-vandu ṭṭi-ṭṭaḍṭṭa Jannāḍaiyūṭṭu
 Tippa)ṭṭāḍaiyūṭṭu*] mudalāḍav-ṭṭaiyav-a-ppērū-ḥēṇaiyū ṭṭaiyir-pāchchi-
 kḷōḍāṭṭi[ṇi]ṭṭ-ran pōḷaga nīr-ṭṭa-kKallāḍam-ṭṭun-kajand-a-ppoli-valam-pōṭṭa-
 maiya-Mahēṇḍiratt-ṭṭavūṭṭu*] mē-varu-ṭṭāpai-tṭāvaḷi ṭṭiṭṭi-ṭṭan pūn-kajark-
 ṭṭaikkalam-pogunda paḍaikkala-tṭaḍ-kkaiy **Vijayāḍittark** araḷi vāḷaiyōḷḍi miṭṭu
 vitta kalivun

7 pūjā jāya-tiruvodun Gaṅgāpuri pugund-arai aṅgē Rājādhirājan Rājatājan-
 tarāpadiyar-āṅa-tiamaṇiyati-iyarri a-ppaṇi-manpar-sōi toḷai-ena iṅa-maṇi-pūjatt-
 irutti muḻṇaiyidai Vēṅgai-paṇ-ṇāitidai-kaṭṭogga iṇu-pedi-ppirakkam varicaiyir-
 kēṇi āṇṇa-migalamun-kalaṇ āṅ-avaṇ vāḷiya vīraḷamun-aṇṇi **Iṇa-talaḷ**
 kaṇḷa-aṇṇiyāḍu paḷa-kalaṇi-cheḷḷuṇi*] mā-pporun-tōṇiy-ēṇa-kkappuḷai-kkaḷḷaḷ-
 vaḷaiy-arapatti vel-ṇaman-tuḍaṅgi-a-cheḷḷaṅḷa-cheḷḷai maṇḷa-ppaiḷ-kalaṇ-Kuṇ-
 kulattaraiyavum-ṇun-ṇa-pporu-ṇinatti-tāṇi*]-ṇāmantavum paṭṭu-viḷa-kkēṭ-udaiṇḍ-
 āṇṇāḍ-ō-ṇāḷ-ttaraiyir-ōḷa-ttarāpadi **Vijaiyabāhuvuṇ-tāṇi-kḍar-ōḷa** [nāṇ-
 āṇṇiyai-pparri veḷuḷu mudalāgiya aḷa-pporuḷ-kula-ḷam-maṇi-ṇam
 mudiyodun vāṇ-ēṇi-maḷi-ḷaṇṇiyun-taṇḍē-āḷki

8 Tēṅāṅaṁ-tāṇṭi-kKōṇḍaiyil mīṇḍum-a-chChajukki paṇḍaiyil iratti paṇḍatōḍum viḍu
 tōḍuttu kaṇḍēṇil māḍi-Nāṅaiyan Māṇayan Maṇṭumakkapaḍayan
 kattaṇ-giḷa kūrṅu kavadiṇi-kKāṇayan Kōṇḍayan
 Aechchikāṇan paṇḍu miyatti-kko yaṇ mudaliṇar māḍi-maliṇi-y-pporūm-iḷi
 mudukittu vāṇi-y-ḍā-kKo oṭṭumāḍayan mudaliṇar pūḍa-sāṁtaraḍi-āṇa-kali-
 ilāṇḍ-ḍā ḷaṇ-paṇav-ilāṇ-kariyūm-aṇḍaiyar kuḷitōḍum-aṇḍappāḍ ppaṇḍu
 pōḷa-paṇḍar-āṇa-kōṇḍu yōḍaiyūm paḍāḷi-ḷaṇ-tāṅu Sīṅṅaṇ āṅṅaṇil
 chajukki-taṇ viḍa a paṇḍay-āṇakar-āṇal ḷaṇ-tiṇḍi-ṇi
 Sōḷiyavaraiyāṇ-ṇu ḷi-paṇi-yāṇi mikkūṇa-āṇa-ḷiṇa paṇḍi-
 9 gal Pōḷi-Sōṭṭukhalḷi-yāṇṭaṁba nāṇi 100 maṇḍal sāmāntara-
 ch|Chajukka āṇaṇi-kKaliṅgam-ḷaṇi

³ Bond + ppt.

1874

* David is mentioned in the

¹ The image from a photograph in a copy of No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III.

The letter and its enclosure are in the handwriting of the Grantha hi.

The 1994 and 1995 data are available for the following states:

paḍai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḍa-tiāai-chChakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-uday-ēlunda Chaṣukkiyan-
 āṇaiyai¹-kkana(l-ēi) nūri-chChōṇay[ya]nagar ālai-chChōmayan Eṇṇaman vāma-
 vēl-Adittapanun-rām-ivar kuṇai-ttalai-kkaḷātoḍu-kunippa-ttaṇai² . . . ād-
 aṇṇa pa³ Maliyū Śāṇaiyan nūm vach-
 chira-ppāim-pūṇ-Manumanu⁴ [Vai]ḷumbapun-lōvanōḍapūn-Dēviko⁵
 nūṇṇaḍam-eṭṭum paḍudiyum oṭṭaṇa-ttōḍudiyum rigala-ppariśandi-
 ppagudiyum varikaiyir-kollaiyil kū patt-u-

10 *ṇaḷind-ōḷu- nāḍaṇ-dēvi **Kāviyil** vāḷi-maṇ-ṇaḍuḍa Kāṇiyappa-
 iyun-tambiyu vichchada mudal tumbayavadi-
 kulun-tōṇaiyar-iṭṭamun mā-kkaḷatt-agappada-ppidittu ti kurra lamayaṇ
 makkaḷaiy-ōḍukki ellai kaḍandu nīlaiy-iṭṭu-kkaḷaṇ-ppīḷy-irudat-kiḍanda vaḍa-
 tiāaiy-lmaiṇattoḍu-kiḍanda Sōtu varambāga-chcheṇṇōl-ōluta⁶
 vēda-nīḷiyai viḷakki mūd-uyar vira-ttāṇi-kkoḍi tiyāga-kkoḍiyōḍum-
 ēppavar varug-euru nīṇṇa-kkōṭṭōḷl-urūmaiyan-eydi arāṇu vīr-irundu mā-varu-Manu
 peṇ viḷakkiya kōv-Irāṇakēsariṇanmar-āna *mūḷḷaiyār āri-Vīrarājēndradē-
 varkku yāḍu āḷṇāḍu Caṇṇaḷkonḍaṣṇapurattu-chChōḷakōraṇ-tirumāḷigaiyil
 Rājendraṣōḷa-Māvalivāṇarāṇu eḷundarūḷy-irundu Jayaṇḍonḍaṣō-

11 la-maṇḍalattu-kkaḷattār-kkōṭṭattu-ttāṇi-yāḷe āri-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇ-
 galattu-tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ-dēvadānamā[y] varuṇṇa Kāṇiyār-
 kkōṭṭattu-ttēṇṇu-Paruvūrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāṇ-ūragaga⁷ āḷaikk-irōttu-varuṇṇa
 ponn-eḷapatt-aḷ-kalaṇṇu i-chchōḷaikk-ēchchōḷāḷḷāṇamāy varuṇṇa[pa]ḷi Irattāṇ-
 pāḍiy-ēl-araṇi-ḷakkamūn-kōḍu āḷavamaḷḷaiy-irumāḍi ven-kōḍu Ulagu[y]*ḷyak-
 kōḍ-aruḷṇaḍēvark-iyāḍ-inaḍṇāḍu mudal tavirundu vēḷḷān vāṇaiyil mudal-eḷuttu
 i-pponn-eḷapatt-aḷ-kalaṇṇu ivv-ūṇal vandar-ūṇṇaḷāṇu-kōṇṇarakkachchōḷamun
 vaṇṇarappāṇi[yu]m nūḷ[pa]ṭṭamun-tattāṇarappāṭṭamun-uḷḷitta kḷḷai-ppāṭṭamun
 vēḷḷikkāḷu-tūṇal-mēramun muttāvarāṇamun taṇṇipudavaiyum valaṇṇaiy-idaṇṇai-
 maṇṇa[ṇ]maiyan-dalaḷbandamū[m*] mōḍaikkūliyum viraṣōḷaiyum⁸-uḷḷitta pāṭṭa-
 12 ṇaḷ-ēppada-tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkaḷ[ḷu]kku yāḍu[m*] nimandaṇḷaḷukk-iruppa-
 ḍaṇa yāḍ-aḷḷṇāḍu dēvadāṇa mudal dēvadāṇa iṇaiy-ḷiyāga vāṇiyil-ide-
 tiruvāṇmōḷind-aruḷṇaṭ-eḷu Tiro[ma]ḷudinaḷōḷai Kaṇṇai⁹ *yīḷḷikkāṇai-vaṇaṇṇi-
 pPaṇaiyār-ēḷṭu Nērvāyil¹⁰ Nērvāyil-udaiyān Tāḷi Tiruppaṇaḍḍuḷaiyāṇ-āṇa
 Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḷuttigāḷu-Tirumantravōḷai-pāyagam Pāḍiyarāṇu Rāja-
 rāja-Brahmamarāyarum Vīrarājēnta¹¹-Gāṇṇaiyārāṇu-oppināḷum puḇunda kēḷi
 vāṇiyil-iṭṭu-kkaḷav-eḷu Vīḷavarāṇu-Kaḷṇṇattaraiyarum Viḷaiyil Rājēnta¹²-
 vāṇirāṇarachchōḷarum Pāḍiyarāṇu ivvōṇaḷ-ēvīṇṇaḷaiy-ūḍanḷṭṭattu
 aḷigāṇaḷ Vīrarājēnta¹³-Brahmādhirāṇu-Chōḷa-Brahmamarāyarum-Chembiyāṇ
 Śittirāṇu Atiṇṇaṣōḷa-Mūvāḷavēḷāṇu-Jayaṇḍonḍaṣōḷa-Viḷupparaiyarum Uṇṇa-
 maḷōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḷaiyil-

¹ Read āṇai.

² Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

³ Between the second *we* and *wea* there is some unaccountable space in the original.

⁴ Here also there is some vacant space.

⁵ The dot may be replaced by the letter *pa*.

⁶ The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

⁷ Space for about 3 letters are left blank.

⁸ For *we* read *u*.

⁹ Read *ēḷṭu*.

¹⁰ Read *kaḷai*.

¹¹ Read *Kaṇṇai*.

¹² This word is written below the line.

¹³ Read *ēḷṭu*.

mā-pāttam pon mu-kka[āḍḍe-kālaḥ-kīḥrai-ppāttam pon aiṇ-kā[āḍḍe-mukkāḥum
āga=ppon padin-oru-kālāḍḍi-pāl mādai padin-eṭṭāy-eḥ-māvināḥ-kālu muppat
āgaraiyūn-dāṣavandaḥ-kālu irubatt-eṭṭaraiyē pāl-māvaḥ[ū*] mā[āḍḍi-kālu kālu irubatt-
aiṇḍe mu.

18 kkalē mūḥoru-māvaḥ mudala-telavu kaṇakkūpaḍi kāḥu māṇṇam vaṇṇaḥka-kkālīkku=
kkāḥo onr-araiyūn-tati-ppuḍavaiyāḥ-kāḥu mukkāḥu[m mu]tiāvarapattāḥ-kāḥu
mukkāḥum-tiāḍal-māḥaiṭṭāḥ-kāḥu onr-araiyūn vāḥi-kkāsukku-kkālū qūṛ-orubatt-
eṭṭum āga-kkālū irapūṭ-orubatt-āḥ-araiyē irapūḍ-māvaḥka i-ttāvaru vāḍuṇ-
nīmāndaḥ-ehēyāpaḍi [1*] Ālvārku-ehēhīrūkālai-ehēhandiy-onrūkkū-pparuppu-ppōṇ-
gattukku arai kurupikku aiṇḍ-irapūḍ-āḥi vāḥu-ppadakkū pā-nāḥiyum paruppu pā-
nāḥikku-ppayaru kurupikku vāḥu-ppadakkū pulakku-kkariy-amud-onrūkkū
vāḥu pāḥiy-ariyūn porikkariy-amud-onrūkkū vāḥu pāḥiy-ariyūn-tayir-amud-urikkū
vāḥu pā-nāḥiyūn-neyy-amud-āḥakkukku pēl nāḥiyūn upp-āḥakkukku vāḥu-ūḥakkū
āḥakkūy-amudu vepūkkāy-āḥjukku pēl nāḥiyūn ve.

19 pīḥaiy-irubadukku vāḥu-ariyūn āga-ehēhāḥaiy-onrūkkū pēl aiṇ-karūṇi aiṇ-āḥi māḥakkū [1*]
vāḥaiyampōḍu āndikkū akkāraḍalai-pōṇagam* Virāḍōḥmūkkū ariḥ pā-nāḥikku
pēl kurūṇi-iru-nāḥiyūn paruppu pā-nāḥikku-ppayaru kurupikku pēl padakkū-
ppāl-aru-nāḥikku pēl kurūṇi pā-nāḥiyūn-neyy nāḥikku pēl tāḥiyūn vāḥaiyapaḥam
eṭṭukku pēl pā-nāḥiyūn āḥaikkāy-amudu vepūkkāy[1*] āḥjukku pēl nāḥiyūn
vāḥaiy-irubadukku pēl-ariyūn āga akkāraḍalai-ppōṇagattukku pēl-iru-tāṇi
kurūṇi mu-nāḥiy-ariyūn [1*] idukku pā onrūkkū-ehēhāḥarai muppat-iru-palaṇḍa
pāl māḥ[1*] pūṭ-arupadakkū-ehēhāḥarai padin-āḥ-āyiratt-aiṇḍ-irubadūn-pala-
ṭṭukku-kkāl-onrūkkū-ehēhāḥarai aiṇḍ-irubatt-aru-palaṇḍa-kkālū irubadūn [1*]
iravai-āndikkū-ppāl-pōṇagattukku ariḥ pā-nāḥikku pēl kurūṇi-iru-nāḥiyūn pāl
pā-nāḥikku pēl kurūṇiyūn porikkariy-amud-onrūkkū.

20 pēl nāḥiy-ariyūn porikkariy-amudakkū pōṇagattukku-neyy-āḥakkukku pēl nā-
nāḥiyūn āḥaikkāy-amudu vepūkkāy-āḥjukku pēl nāḥiyūn vāḥaiy-irubadukku vāḥu-
ariyūn āga iravai-āndikkū pēl mu-kkarūṇi [1*] nāḥiyūn [1*] (Sri)-Rāgavaḥcha-
kravai[1*] jikkū vāḥaiyampōḍai āndi onrūkkū ariḥ pā-nāḥikku pēl kurūṇi-
iru-nāḥiyūn-neyy-amudū-karūṇamudum āḥaikkāy-amudum āḥiṭṭinavaiyirukku
vāḥu pā-nāḥiyūn-āga pēl kurūṇi-aru-nāḥiyūn Ālvārku-ehēhāḥaṇḍakkāppukku-
ehēhāḥaṇḍaṇ-pāl-onrūkkū arai-ppaḥam-āga pāl muppūṭ-arubadukku-ehēhāḥaṇḍam
pūṭ-arubadūn-palaṭṭukku kōḥ-onrūkkū-ehēhāḥaṇḍam eṭṭu-ppaḥam-āḥa-kkāl-irubatt-
irapūḍ-ariyūn māḥpadikkū-kkarpāru-ppottaraḥ nāl-onrūkkū aiṇ-māḥ-āga nāl
muppūṭ-arubadukku-kkarpāram padin-oru-kā[āḍḍi-kālu-kkāl-onrūkkū-kkār-
pūṭam-arai-kka[āḍḍi-āga kāl-iru.

21 batt-irapūḍ-ariyūn-kūḍamattukku-kkāl-onrūm [1*] Ālvārku-ttira-mundāḥ-āḥ-irapūḍukku
pāl-onrūkk-epṇaiy-ariyūn irā-ttirochēhūru-māḥigariḥ viḥiyūn-āḥavum-eṭiyūn
vīḥakku māṇṇuk-epṇaiy-āḥ-āḥakku māḥpadiyil eṭiyūn āndi-vīḥakku-ppattū-
kkū vīḥak-onrūkk-epṇai oru-āḥiḍ-kāl-āga epṇai vīḥak-iru-āḥiḍ-ariyūn-
āga pāl-onrūkkū epṇai pāḥiy-āḥakkū-iru-āḥiḍ-ariy-āga pāl muppūṭ-arubadakk-
epṇai pā-pūṭ-ambatt-iru-pāḥiy-urikkū-kkāl-onrūkk-epṇai-irubadūn-pāḥiy-āga-kkāl-
irubatt-irapūḍ-ariy-āḥ-āḥaikkāḥum [1*] Aippaḥ-ttirupāḥil tiruvīḥ-ēḥ-āḥ-āḥ[1*] ſum Aḥagi-
yamaṇavāḥar pāl āḥiḥ-amudū-neyy-ppōḍ-onrūkkū ariḥ pada-
kkukku vāḥu aiṇ-kurūṇiyūn paruppu-urikkū-ppayaru nāḥikku vāḥu-iru-nāḥiyūn
porikkariy-amud-onrūkkū pēl nāḥiyūn pulakku-kkariy onrūkkū.

* This word is engraved below the line.

* Read pūṭṭar.

* The sign of ṣe is in the previous line.

* kkarūṇi-aru is what is required.

- 22 ka nel nāliyum miḷagu-kariy-ōṇṇukku nel nāliyum miḷag-iru-ṣevij-araikkku nel-iru-nāliyum
-neyy-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum-tayir nāḷikku nel-iru-nāliyum upp-ūḷakkukku
nell-urium aḷakkāy-amudu veruṇkāy-nāḷiḷḷu nel nāliyum verṇilaiy-irubadukku
nell-erium-āga-ppōd-ōṇṇukku nel eḷu-kurūṇiy-āga-ttiruvilav-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷi eḷi
eḷundaruḷu^[a] in pōdu paṇṇirāṇḍukku nel-eḷu-kalan^[m] ^[1] maunāy Māsi-ttiruvāḷ-eḷun-
daruḷu^[a] in pōdu paṇṇirāṇḍukku nēppadiy-āḷḷi nel-eḷu-kalan^[m] ^[1] i-ttiruvāḷ-
irāṇḍilum Viṇāḷan tiru-pandavanattir-tiruvēṇṇaiy-eḷundaruḷu^[a] nāḷ-ōṇṇukku
ppērūn-tiruv-amud-ariṇi kalattukku nel-iru-kalan^[m] tūḷi-ppadakkum parupp-amud-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayara nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiy-
um paḷakku-kkariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kuru-
- 23 ṇiyum miḷag-āḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum upp-iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum ney nāḷikku
nel tūṇiyum tayir kurūṇikku nel padakkum aḷakkāy-amudu veruṇkāy^[y]
nāṇḍadukku nel kurūṇiyum verṇilai-pparr-irāṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āra² nāḷ-
ōṇṇukku nel mu-kalan^[m] tūḷi-ppadakkum nā-nāliy-āga-ttiruvēṇṇaiy-eḷundaruḷu-nāḷi
irāṇḍukku nel-eḷu-kalan^[m] kurūṇiyum ^[1] Jayantyaṣṭam-nāḷi Veṇṇai-kkūttāḷ-vāṇḍukku
peruv-tiruv-amudukku ariṇi tūḷi-ppadakkukku nel kalan^[m] mu-kkurūṇiyum parupp-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayara nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel
nā-nāliyum paḷakku-kkariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel nā-nāliyum miḷagu-kariy-amudukku
nel nā-nāliyum ^[m] miḷag-iru-ṣe³ viḷ-araikkku nel-iru-nāliyum upp-urikku nel nāliyum
-tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum ney-amud-ūḷakkukku nel kurūṇiyum
aḷakkāy-amudu veruṇkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-ōṇ-
- 24 rukku nel-iru-nāliyum āga-ppērūn-tiruv-amudukku nel kalan^[m] iru-tūḷi aiṇ-nāḷiyum ^[1]
aṇṇi-nāḷiḷḷi-amudu-ṣeyd-aruḷa appattuk-ariṇi kurūṇiy-iru-nāḷikku nel mu-kkurūṇi
ōṇ-nāḷiyum^[m] paruppu nāḷikku-ppayara-iru-nāḷikku nel nā-nāliyum-neyy-urikku
nel padakkum ṣarkariy-irubadūn-palattukku nel tūṇiyum miḷag-āḷakkukku
nel nā-nāliyum-chitragam-iru-ṣevij-araikkku nel-iru-nāliyum upp-ūḷakkukku nell-
urium-tōḷkāy-āṇḍukku nel padakkum^[m] aḷakkāy-amudu veruṇkāy-irubadukku nel
nā-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-ōṇṇukku nel-iru-nāliyum āga appay-amudu^[kku] nel kalan^[m]
kurūṇi ōṇ-nāliy-urium ^[1] i-ttiruvil-eḷundaruḷu^[nā]-amudu-ṣeydaruḷa vāḷaippaḷa^[m]
mappatt-irāṇḍukku nel padakkum-tayir-amudu nā-nāḷikku nel kurūṇiyum āga
Jayantyaṣṭam^[m] nel mu-kalan^[m] āra-nāliy-urium³ ^[1] Kārttigai-kKārttigai-
nāḷi peruv-tiruv-amuduk-ariṇi kalattukku nel-iru-kalan^[m] tūḷi-ppadakkum-pparupp-
iru-nāḷikku-ppayara nā-nā-
- 25 ḷikku nel kurūṇiyum porikkariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum paḷakku-kkariy-amud-
ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum miḷagu-kariy-amud-ōṇṇukku nel kurūṇiyum paḷi-kariy-
amudukku-tayir kurūṇikku nel padakkum-charkarai padūn-palattukku nel pada-
kkum vāḷaippaḷam-irubadukku nel kurūṇiy-iru-nāliyum miḷag-āḷakkukku nel
nā-nāliyum upp-urikku nel mu-nāliyum-neyy-amudu nāḷikku nel tūṇiyum-
tayir-amudu kurūṇikku nel padakkum aḷakkāy-amudu veruṇkāy-irubadukku
nel kurūṇiy-iru-nāliyum verṇilai-pparr-irāṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum āga nel mu-
kkalan^[m] āra-tūḷi mu-kkurūṇiy-eḷu-nāliyum ^[1] i-nāḷi viḷiyum-aḷavum-tiruvāṇḍāḷ-
igayilum-tiruchchurumāḷigayilum erium viḷak-iru-nāḷukku viḷak-ōṇṇukku-
ṣeyd-āḷakkāga oppay-irubattai-nāḷikku-kkāḷ-ōṇṇu-kāḷum ^[1] Uḷaiyār-ṣi-Viṇāḷ-
jēntadēvar⁴ āṇṇai-tiruvāḷi āvaḷi-tūḷaḷi tiruv-āyāḷyattāḷi āḷvarkku-ttirumaṇḷa-

¹ Read 'ye'.² Read 'uripam'.³ This portion is badly damaged.⁴ Read 'nāḷa'.

26 nattukku-ttirumajaiy-atta-ppayaru nālik[ku] nell-iru-nāliyum-tiruman[ai-kki]-atta nel padakkun-kalaṣam nāy-atta-chchāla pū-aru-palattukku nel kuruṇiyum aḍikk[ṭ]-atta nel tūṇi-ppaḷakkum-tiruchchupattuk-ariy-iru-nālikku nel pā-nāliyum-ney nā-pālikku nel kalanōy tūṇiyum-tayir [nā]-pālikku nel kuruṇiyum pūl nā-pālikku nel kuruṇiyum [*] arai-nā] perun-tiruv-amudukku ariai kalattukku nellu iru-kalanō tūṇi-ppadakkum paruppu nā-pālikku-ppayaru [kura*]vikkku nel padakkum puḷukku-kkaṇiy-amud-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum pori-kkaṇiy-amud-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum miḷagu-karṇiy-amud-onrukku nel kuruṇiyum miḷag-aḷakkukku nel pā-nāliyum uppu nālikku nell-iru-nāliyum puḷiṇ-karṇiy-amudukku-ttayir kuruṇikkku nel padakkum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum aḍikkāy-amud voḷ[ṭ]uḷkāy mu-ppadakku nel kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum verrilai-kkaṇi-mānrukku nell-aṇu-nāliya[*]m puḷiṇ-karṇikk-chcharkarai padin-palattukku nel pa-

27 dakkum vāḷappalam-tiruhadukku nel kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum āga nell-aṇu-kalanō aiṇ-kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum [*] i-ttirunālikku-ttirumajaiy-atta-ppāligai-sū[ḷa]-ppuḍavaiy-onruṇ-kalattin-māḷaḍi-ppuḍavaiy-onrum tirumanjāyam¹-paṇṇum-āchāriya[ṇukku] uḷukhavum attar[ṭ]iyaṇum-ida-ppuḍavaiy-iraṇḍum-āga-ppuḍavai nāḷukku-kk[ṭ]ā-onruṇ-tirumanjāyam¹-āḍiy-arai-a-ttē nā-nālikku-kk[ṭ]ā-araiyum kuḷakundan maḷaḷa-simbadin-palattukku-kk[ṭ]āu kālum maṇana-draṇyāḷa[ḷ] koḷḷa-kk[ṭ]ā-araiyum tiru-maḷjāyam¹-āḍināḷi katta-pariṣattam-onrukku-kk[ṭ]ā-onrum maṇanai-paṇṇuvikkum āchāriyagukku dakṣiṇai k[ṭ]ā-onrum arai-nāli[ṭ]ā-tiruvōlakkaṇ-chēvikkā vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavarakkun-tiruv[āy]moḷi viḷṇappāḍ-cheyvāḷkun-kuḷukkuṇ parṭi[ṭ]av-uru-ppattukku-ttaniy-onru k[ṭ]āu kāl-āga-kk[ṭ]ā-iraṇḍ-araiyum [*] itirunā[*] kollu-tiruvukku-ppariṣattattukku-kk[ṭ]ā-araiyum [*] maṇmaṇum-tiruchchupattunāliḷaiyūṇ-Jananaḍan-maṇḍapamān-cheyvi-

28 yita Vāḷayan Māḍayan Dāmayan piraṇḍa Kārttigai-ttiṇḷa[ḷ]-p[ū]Pārāḍatti-nā]-ttirumanj-ṇattukkuṇ² perun-tiruv-amudukkuṇ-nell-aṇu-kalanōy aiṇ-kuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum iṇṇaḷikkun-tirumanjṇattukku³ vēṇḍarāna koḷḷavum pariṣattam peruvārkku-ppari-ṣattā-kudukhavum mēppaḍiy-āga-kk[ṭ]ā-āṇḍ-kālum [*] Purattādi-tiruvōpatti-nā] Veṇṇarkkittālvāu Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt-eḷund-araiṇāḷ appa-amudukk-ariai aiṇ-kuruṇikkku nel kalanō [nā]-nāliyuṇ-charkarai mu-nḍuṇ-ppalattukku nell-iru-kalanō tūṇi-ppadakkum ney mu-nḍālikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuṇ-chāḷattukkuṇ uppuḷukku nel mu-kkuruṇiyum aḷaikk[āy]-aḷud-eyhadukku nel-ppadakkum verrilai-kkaṇi-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum [ṭ]iḷa nel aiyā-kalamum [*] unāvēṇḍayil Ālvāṇ tīrttham prasāḍittāḷ tīrttham-āḷa-vandā puranbāḷ Jananāḍaṇ-maṇḍapatt-uppum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar irupadimarku-ppērāḷ-ariai nāliy-uray-āga ariai mu-kkuruṇi-

29 y-aṇu-nālikku nell-iru-tūṇi kuruṇi mu-nāliyum puḷukku-kkaṇiy-onrukku nel ai-nāliyum miḷagu-karṇiy-onrukku nel ai-nāliyum puḷiṭṭa-karṇiy-onrukku-ppuḷiy-uppaḍa nel-kkuruṇiy-iru-nāliyum ṭai-kkarikku nell-iru-nāliyum miḷag-aḷakkukku nel nā-nāliyum opp-iru-nālikku nel nā-nāliyum neyy-aḷakkukku nel-kkuruṇiyum mōr padakkukku nel-kkuruṇiy-iru-nāliyuṇ-charkarai nā-palattukku nel-kkuruṇiyum veṇṇāḷkāy nāpudukku nel-kkuruṇiyum verrilai-ppar-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāliyum aḷvāṇ-onvavukku nel-kkuruṇiyum āga amāvēṇḍai onrukku nel-kkalanōy-eḷu-kuruṇi mu-nāliy-āga amāvēṇḍai panniraṇḍukku nel-ppattoṇbadin-kalanō tūṇi nā-nāliyum-Tiruvōḷaḍamāḷai-(t) tīrttham-āḷa-pparuṇ-kōṭṭamāy vandu Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt-uppum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar gūṇuvarkku-ppērāḷ ariai nāliy-

¹ Read 'Janam.² Read 'nāli.³ Read 'irumanjāyam'.

- any-āga arul kaland tūpi-ppadakk-aru-nālyum nel ma-kkalanē-aru-tūpi-ppa-
 dakk-e-ā-nālyum payar kurupikku nel-ppadakkum paṭukku-kkariy-onrukku
 30 nel ma-kkurupiyum nālagu-kariy-onrukku nel ma-kkurupiyum paṭusa-kariy-onrukku-
 ppaiy-onpaja nel-tūpiyum ilai-kkariy-onrukku nel-kkurupiyum nālagu mōḷa-
 kkuṭṭu nel ma-kkurupiyum uppu-kkurupikku nel-ppadakkum nary-aru-nālyum
 nel-aru-tūpiyum mōr kalattakku nel tūpi-ppadakkum paṭu-karikku mōrakku
 nel tūpi-ppadakkum iṭṭarai iṭṭarai-aru-palattakku nel tūpiyum veṇṇikkē
 iṭṭarukku nel ma-kkurupiyum veṇṇai-ppatt-ottukku nel-ppadakkum aḍavaḷ-
 iṭṭarukku nel tūpiyum suppāmbukku nel aḍ-pāḷiyum viṇṇa-ṭṭuvā-aru-vanukku
 nel-ppadakkum ilai-kkariy-ṭṭuvā-aru-vanukku nel-ppadakkum āga nel e-
 kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] iṭṭam-āḷi mōḷa vandaḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 31 aḍavaḷ-iṭṭarai-aru-āga nāḷ-onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇa-
 ṭṭam-aru-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-nāḷ-āḷi āga āḷi-
 kalanē tūpi-aru-nālyum [1*] Māga-tṭuvā-āḷi mōḷa vandaḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 32 ā-Māga-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi mōḷa vandaḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 33 ga-kkaiy nāḷum Viṇṇa-ṭṭuvā-aru-āga nāḷ-onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 34 aḍavaḷ-iṭṭarai-aru-āga nāḷ-onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇa-
 ṭṭam-aru-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-nāḷ-āḷi āga āḷi-
 kalanē tūpi-aru-nālyum [1*] Māga-tṭuvā-āḷi mōḷa vandaḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 35 aḍavaḷ-iṭṭarai-aru-āga nāḷ-onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇa-
 ṭṭam-aru-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar-nāḷ-āḷi āga āḷi-
 kalanē tūpi-aru-nālyum [1*] Māga-tṭuvā-āḷi mōḷa vandaḷ Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-
 tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi
 nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda
 āḷi nāḷ onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vai-
 36 nāḷ-onṇi-ayum Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-
 tūpi ma-nālyum [1*] Parappai-tṭuvāpatti-nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar
 nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi nel-ep-kalanē-aru-tūpi ma-nālyum Aṭṭai-tṭuvāpatti-
 nāḷ iṭṭam-āḷi vanda Śrī-Vaiṣṇavar nṛṇavarkku mēppaiy-āḷi

¹ The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the stem. They are distributed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

*The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an undeciphered slab.

* Kandi pira omi-jam.

* The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.

*The buttons have popped off.

'What does this mean?'

oruvayukku nā[-onrukku nel padakkum Yajur-vālam-ōduvippān-oruvayukku
nā[-onrukku nel] padakkum ivargal-iruvayukku pērār-kāṇ nā[-āga-kkā-

37 ē-ettum Vyākaraṇam Rūpavāṭīśramam vakkāṇikkum Bhāṭṭan-oruvayukku nā[-
onrukku nel tūṇiyum kāṇ pattum R[ig-vēdam] ō'dum Brāhmaṇar
padinmarum Yajur-vēdam ōdum Brāhmaṇar padinmar[um] Vyākaraṇam
Rūpavāṭīśramam-kēṭṭum Brāhmaṇaru[m]*] chāttirar-irupadinmarum Mahā-Pāṇ-
[oharāttirar-oru] padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaiṣṇāṇar aivarum

38 il . . . mār-iruvayum āga ōduvārum] ōttu-kkēṭṭipāru[m]-āga arupadinmarukku=
ppērāl-ariśi nāli[-y-ariśi-āga nā[-onrukku-ariśi tū]ṇi mā-kkuvay-aru-nālikku
nel-iru-kalāṇ tūṇiy-aru-nāliyum payaru nā-nālikku nel kuvayum puluktu-
kkayukku nel-aru-nāliyum ilat-kka-

39 ilku nel ma-nāliyu[m] mīlāgu-kayukku nel kuvayum pulitta-kayik*]ku puliy-ūpada
nel kuvayum mīlāgu-olakk-olakkukku nel] nā-nāli]ṇum uppi nālikku nel
kuvayum ney nālikku nel tūṇiyum mār tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel ma-kkuvay-
yum veṇuākāy-arubadukku nel kuvay nā-nāli]ṇum verṇilai par-irayukku
nel nā-nāliyum

40 Vayalōkēyār-niari ariśi koḍuvandu viṇagum-ilaiyum-iṭṭu-ttaṇṇir-ettiy-aru-madaiyar
mūvarukku-ppērāl kuvay-āga [nā[-op]*]rukku nel ma-kkuvayum pērār-kāṇ-
iray-āga-kkāṇ-ārum i-maṇḍapatti-ṇṇuṇ-chāttirarkkuṇ-kidāṇajukku[m] paṇ-
ṇeyum peḍuṇḍal-iruvark*]ka-ppērāl nallu nā-nāli-āga nā[-onrukku

41 nel kuvayum pērār-kāṇ-or-āga-kkāṇ-iraydum chāttirarkkuṇ-kidāṇajukku[m] ātula-
kkum kiṭṭakka-ppāy-olupar]tandu]kka-kkāṇ-iraydum kiṭṭajukkuṇ-chātti-
rarkkuṇ-talakk-āṭṭa-chōṇay-ōnrukku-ēṇṇai-iru-nāli-āga āṇ-ōṇṇi-ēṇṇi aimbatt-
onrukku-ēṇṇai]ṇ pūrr-iru-nālikku Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatti-tatu-

42 kkēṭṭipārkku iray-eriyum viṭakk-onrukku-ēṇṇai ulakk-āga āṇ-ōṇṇi-ēṇṇai toṇḍu-
nāliyu[m] [v-ē]*]ṇṇai pūrr-toṇḍu-iru-nālikku-kkāṇ-onrukku-ēṇṇai-iray-
nāli-āga-kkāṇ-onḍu-ariy-ay-araikkāṇ=Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatti]ṇ-ppulukkuppu-
ṇṇatukku nel nārpadin-ka]lamu]m []*] ān-

43 [a]ṭ-āṭai Viraṭāṇi vyāḍippaṭṭu-kkīḍappār padinaiyvarukku-ppērāl-ariśi nāli-āga
ariśi kuvay-ēṇ-nālikku nel [tūṇi a]ṭ-nāli-eriyum vyāḍippaṭṭu-kkīḍapparkku
pala-paṇi-maṇḍakkayarkku kiṭṭajukkuṇ-chāttirarkku vāḍiāṇ-chōḷa-kkāṇiy-
āga-tiaṇakkum-taṇ [vargat]*]tārkku[m] peṇṇu-aiya ālappākkattu Savarṇṇan

44 Kōḍaṇḍarāman Aivattāma-Bhāṭṭayukku nā[-onrukku nel ma-kkuvayum kāṇ-
ēṭṭuṇ-chāliyakkiṇi-ai-paṇṇuvā[-oruva]*]yukku nā[-onrukku nel kuvayum ātula-
larkku maruṇḍajukku vēḍu[m]*] maruṇḍu paṇṇitum viṇag-iṭṭum pariyāram-
paṇṇuvār-iru[va]yukku-p[erāl]*] nā[-onrukku nel kuvay-āga nel padakkum
pērār-

45 ē-kāṇ-or-āga-kkāṇ-iraydum ātularaku vēḍum pariyāram paṇṇi maruṇḍ-ēṇṇu peṇṇu-
ga-iruvarkku-ppērāl-a]riśi nā]ṇ-nāli-āga nā[-onrukku nel kuvayum pērār-kāṇ-

* The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

* This is filled up by calculation.

* Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

* Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

* The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up as read from stone.

* The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

* Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

- araiy-āga-kkāṣ-ongum ātalarkkuṁ-kidāiṅgukkuṁ-ebāttirackkum vēṇḍum paṇi-
 sey(yum nā)¹visan-oruṣanukku nāḷ-ongukku nel nā-nāḷḷ
 46 yum [1*] āturaśālai Viraiśāmi āṇḍ-ongūḷ-ēḷa(m*) marundu Brāhmyam-kaḷḷumbūci)ḷ-
 onḍum karuṅṅōy nūṅa iṇṇaḍi ḍum Vāśi-haritaki-ppaḍiy-
 iraṇḍum Daṭamūḷa-haritaki paḍiy-ongum Bhallāṭaka-haritaki paḍiy-ongum
 Gaṇḍizam [paḍi)ḷ-ongum Baḷākēraṇḍa-tallam tūṇiyum Pañchā-
 47 ka²-tallan-tūṇiyum Laṣunādy³-ēraṇḍa-tallan-tūṇiyum-Uttamakaraiḍi-tallan-tūṇiyum-U
 [paḷakkūṁ-Suk *ā-ghṛitam pada-
 kku(m*) Bīlvādi-ghṛitam padakkum Maṇḍōḷka)ṁ-vaḷakam iraṇḍ-āyiramum Dravatti
 nāḷiyum Vinaiḷi iraṇḍ-āyiramum Sunāziy⁴-iraṇḍ-āyiramum-Tamrōḍiy-iraṇḍ-āyira-
 mum Vajrakalpan-tūṇi-ppa
 48 dakkum Kalyāṇa-lavaṇan-tūṇi-ppadakkum ivaiy-aḍugaṅku vēṇḍum maruṇḍu⁵)ḷaḷa-
 kkum ne [raiṇum] tē *yum uḷḷṭṭana
 koḷḷavum āṇḍa-tōṇum Purāṇaṣarppi padaikka-ppaṣuvī(n*) ney padaikkūṁ-koḷḷavum
 (kīkāṇ nāṇḍum [ātura)ḷālaiyil-irāy-eriyum viḷakk-ongukku-eṇṇaiy-āḷakk-ā-
 49 ga nāḷ mu-nḍōṇ-aruṇaḍukku-eṇṇai nāṇḍuṁ-m-ūṇāḷḷko kāḷ-iraṇḍē-kāḷum Jananāḍan-ma-
 *nūḷ taṇ *yagukku-pPaṇḍeniy-uttiran-
 tuḷaḷḍi-pPuraṭṭādi-tTiruvōṇatti-aḷavum parambāḷ-āra-ttaṇṇir koḷḷavundu vaiṭṭe-
 chechāy)ḷppān oruṇaḍukku nāḷ-ongukku nel kuṇṇiy-ā-
 50 ga nāḷ nūṇ-eybaḍukku nel padimāḷa-kalamum ēḷattukku ilāmachobattukku
 nell-iru⁶ *padakkum-ta *yāḷham
 paṇḍum Brāhmaṇarcku⁷-āḍakkiṇaikkum veṇḷai veṇḷāḷkaykkum nel kalanē tūṇiy-
 iru-nāḷi mūḷak(kē mū)⁸-checheviḍum Vayalāḷkāvēr kāṇiyuḍaiya Mādhavan Dāma-
 51 yan varṇṇatāṭṭrko-pPuraṭṭādi-tTiruvōṇatti-nāḷ kuṇḷukku [paḷiṭa)ṇam iraṇḍukku-
 kkāṣ-ongey-eḷu-mā *mūv-āyirait-irōṇḍu-nāṇḍu-mu-
 kkalanēy-iru-tūṇi-ppadakk-aru-nāḷiy-ūḷakkē mu-chechovittukku kāḷ-ōru-nūṇ-aru-
 batt-ār-araiyēy-iraṇḍ(ḍu-mā)⁹-vukku [1*] ūkkāḷ-ūḷavāviḍū kāḷ-ongukku-tTaṇḍavāṇiyō-
 52 ḍ-akkuṁ pon kāḷu-nirai-kkāl uḷḷvad-ūḷavum[1*] iṇṇaḍi yāḍu āḷvadu nimanāṇ-cheyda-
 paḍi in *ḷumḷattu chāḷti)ṇa-kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kiḍai-
 kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kēḷakkaḍavād-āga nivanḍam ēḷapaḷiḷḷu kallu veṭṭuvittār i-
 ḷ(nūḷu kḷiḷa)¹⁰seyda aḍigāṇḷai Sōḷa-maṇḍalattu Vijaiyarājēnta¹¹-va-
 53 janāṭṭu Idaiyala-aḷṭṭu [Mīṇa)¹²-kuḍaiyān Paṇuvati Tiruvanaḍaḷēvanār-āna
 Rājēnta¹³-Mūvōṇḍavōḷār Pōṇa)¹⁴ *ṇa-kallu veṭṭuvittāḷ Jayanḍoṇḍa-

* The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*.

¹ The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.

² The syllables *sunāziy* have been read *in situ*.

³ Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.

⁴ The syllables *āyirai* have been restored by reading on the spot.

⁵ Read *Tam*.

⁶ The letters *āna* are entered below the line.

⁷ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.

⁸ The syllables *ōru* here must be *paṇi kulanēy-irōṇḍu*.

⁹ Read *āḷa*.

¹⁰ A pillar obstructs these two letters.

¹¹ The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.

¹² Read *āḍra*.

¹³ The two syllables are lost in the original.

¹⁴ The syllables *ṇa-kka* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-pPuḷar-kōṭṭatt-Āguḍi-nāṭṭu Ayandampākkattu Iṟaiyēṭṭin
Kunara-Pūṣūr-kkattan-āṅa¹ Virarājēnta²-chChembiyadarayan[³] Iḍa danma[⁴m⁵]
śeyvitta Dāmayaṇ

54 maga[n] Dāmayaṇ Gaṅgaikondāśōḷa-āṅa Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikondāśōḷa-Danmapāḷarkku
ivar tāmbiyār Dā n-āṅa Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājēnta²-Danmapāḷarkku-
māy iḍu kalla vēṭṭuvittān Jayaṅgondāśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Puḷal-kōṭṭattu
nāṭṭu [Śā] turvōḍimaṅga[⁶la⁷]itu Brāhmaṇan Māṅgaḷūr Namaki-
vāyudēvaṇ magay

55 Taḷuvakkulaṇḍān-āṅa Abhimānamōru-Brahmaṇārāyaṇ [I⁸] I-Iḥarman[⁹m] śrī-Madhurān-
taka-chchattu[rvōḍimaṅga]¹⁰lattu Mahāśabhaiyār zakalai [I⁸] Śrī []

Abstract of Contents.⁴

Hail! Prosperity! (With the aid of) his strong shoulders, (wherein the goddess of) Prosperity resided, (the king) bore the circle of the wide earth as (lightly as) his jewel of gems; under the shade of (his) victorious white parasol (set with) numerous gems, (he) protected the living beings of the earth more (tenderly) than the mother who bore (them); (he) conducted (his) rule (so as to cause) other kings (wearing) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (forced) the rest-Kali (age) to retire to (his) abysmal abode. (He) drove from the battle-field of Gaṅgapāḍi the great feudatory chiefs (śāmāntas) whose strong hands (carried) tightly-bound bows, (and forced them) along with Vikkalan (who wore) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the Tuṅgabhadra. (He made such an) attack (as to cause) the destruction of the irresistibly great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi; and fought⁵ with Mahāḍaṇḍanāyaka Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (i.e., Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable⁶ daughter called Nāgalai (who was) the queen of Irugaiyan and (who) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless śāmāntas along with the (two) sons of Āhavamalla called Vikkalan and Śiṅgaṇa at Kūḍal-Saṅgama on the great waters; whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time; and with (his) rut elephant, he agitated that army (of the enemy) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Śiṅgaṇ of Kōṣalsai who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard; he (also) cut to pieces Kāṣavadaṇḍanāyaka and Keṭṭaraiṣan, Mārayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraiṣan and Rēchchayan, Porkōḍai and Mūrēṇḍi who were fighting (fiercely), and many (other) unknown śāmāntas who offered (him) battle. Then Mudrayaṇ, who was the commander,⁷ fled; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled; Śiṅgaṇa fled leaving off the field-work; all the other chiefs of the elder brother⁸ dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,⁹ ran before them (all). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (enemies') wives, their family treasures,

¹ The letters *śey-āṅa* are obstructed by a pillar.

² Read *śāṅa*.

³ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

⁴ Prof. Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 361. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁵ The word *śeyvitta* is a compound of *śeyra* and *vitta*.

⁶ May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

⁷ The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'.

⁸ *Anda* may also mean 'the king'.

⁹ The word *śeyvitta* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, patmoals, trumpets (*tāra*), big drums, canopies (*māghaśumbhāra*), white fly-whisks (*chōsuras*), the hoar banner, the ornamental arch (*maḥara-tūraya*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Puṣhpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagama**(*uladaiya*), put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower-garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kusari*), and of the **Kāraṇa** (*king*) wearing ankle-rings and (powerful on account of his) elephants¹ as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with ornaments; (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Srīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.²

He put forth his elephant (*forces*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Rattas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*these*)³; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle probed on the bank of a river of whirling water⁴ he cut off the heads of the following Daṇḍanāyakas:—Vāliyaṇṇa⁵ of great valour, Vāḥṣippaya⁶, who possessed a rutting elephant, Akōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyappaṇa of brilliant valour, Pattiyappaṇa (*the minister of*) peace and war, Viṃṇayaṇ, who wore a honey-dripping garland, Vasiḡāraṇ of great wisdom, the Gaṇḡa (*king*) of dreadful furies, the Nuḡumba (*king*) and the king of the Kāḍava as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gaṅḡa, the Chāḡukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūḡal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūḡal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Gaṇḡa chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Rattappōḡi and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chāḡa-king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western corner, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dōvanāthan, Siddhi and Kōḡi turned their backs.

(*The Chāḡa king*) subdued the powerful activity of Rattappaḡi 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for birds*) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadrā-tūpa*) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra so that the world⁷ praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

¹ *Pottapi* is the reading in No. 20 of S. I. I., Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces—cf. 'polyśma-kū-kāmanan.'

² Instead of *Dhēra*, it is preferable to read '*vīra*.'

³ See note 6 on page 27 of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

⁴ Hattinck has rendered the passage thus:—"tied up he stables the Rattas, whose elephants—see numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniya which he had seized."

⁵ This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 68.

⁶ Malliyappaṇa and Maṅḡḡappaṇa are the readings in No. 20 of the same Volume.

⁷ *Kāvalan* means 'four kinds of lands, i.e., *ēṇṇai*, *maḡḡai*, *pāḡai* and *maḡḡai*—greeny, forest, sandy and good tracts' and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kayāikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the Kuntaja king and (his) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (round its neck) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, etc.—that he would destroy the state of the Chālukyan (lordship), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his home troops (†) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chālukya had taken,—he sent (the following) word to be announced "Hear this and if you have (any) power, come and protect yourself".

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemy's) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavādai (i.e., Bezvāda), he (the Chōla) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāday and Tippiaraiśan; caused his elephants (pōdakan) to drink the water of the Gōdāvari; crossed the seven Kaliṅgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (tānai-tāvaṭi) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (mountain) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (the city of) Gaṅgāpuri leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (itself) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniga* as the lord of the earth (under the titles) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems: exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the firm country of Vēṅgi, removed the *āṭi* and *viṅgaṭa* and fulfilled his vow.

(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Chōla king) began to wage a war in *Ilam* (i.e., Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulat-taraiyag who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Chōlas) with the result that Vijayabāhu, the king (of the island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chōla king) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family genus along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (the Chōla king) obstructed at Koṇḍai where the Chālukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (there) were the intelligent Nāgaiyan, Mārayan, Manmagandayan, Koṇḍayan, Achechidaran and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (in their flight) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko, oṭṭumaiyayan and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sīmanta*). The Chōla king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (in the field) and received as before a *parapi*. Tuṅgamārāyag, Kēṭavan, who were subdued by his forces the sound and (he) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Sōṭṭukkal, where, getting up a hill and mounted on a vehicle (*yānai*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (by the name) Sōṭṭiyavaraiyag, -dapḍanāyaka fought. He sent

† The word *viṅgaṭa* is phonetically connected with the skt. *viṅgaṭa* 'letters or shackles'; and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'

birth a (very) son of army in Kāṭiṅgam his chief
 foundatories at Chakkarakōṭṭam and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (forces) of the
 Chāṭukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōṭṭam in the North. The bowman
 Śūmaras of Sōṇaiyanagar, Eriyaman, Adityaverman of martial talent,—these with clusters
 of heads that were cut off.— Malli, Sōmaras a, who were
 circumcised and with diamonds, Valḍunaba, Devanātha, Dēvina along with heads
 of tamils and the reward of ornaments were looted in order
 and ran with broken hearts. The wife of
 nūthan trembling with fear, Kāṭiyappai, his younger brother and
 others together with crowds of their ladies wearing *paṇḍai* garlands, fell in his hands in the great
 field of Kāvi and were caught.

Removing the seat of Iamajana, (the Clasp King) crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wedded his scepter from the *Himālayas* in the northern quarter, where the tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the *Sāta* (in the south); propagated the *Vijā* law, assumed possession of kindly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of heroism and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great *Māra* (He), i.e., king *Rājāśvarivarmā* alias *Udayār* the glorious *Vīracāṇḍradāva*, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (the seat called) *Rājendrasūja-Nāvalivāgarājag* in the Royal palace of *Sākāśalan* at *Chāṅgalkonḍśālapuram*.

Vayalakkūṭṭūr in Tōḷu-Paruvār-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kāliyar-kōṭṭam was a *dēvādāna* of (the temple of) Mahāviṣṇu at Tirumukkūṭal in the present Madhorāntaka-chaturvēdamāṅgalam (which was a free village in Kaṭattūr-kōṭṭam, a district of Jayanagondachōlamāṅgalam. The residents of this village were paying 75 *kaṭāṇ* of gold for the feeding house; *āśāṇ*). This amount of 75 *kaṭāṇ* of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Ulagayyakkōṭṭamśāmadaya who took Raṭappāḷi 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (i.e., defeated) Āṇavamalla. This (amount) together with the taxes accruing from the village, *viz.*, *Ur-kaṭāṇ*, *kuṁārakkuchēṭṭāṇ*, *maṣṭappāṇ*, *maṇṇāṇ*, *kaṭṭappāṇ*, *etc.*, forming the *āṭṭēppōṭṭam*, *olikkāṇ*, *tiṅgaṭṭāṇ*, *maṭṭāṇ*, *maṇṇāṇ*, *tiṅgaṭṭāṇ*, *kaṭṭāṇ* and *iṇṇāṇ*—*maṇṇāṇ*, *daṭṭāṇ*, *maṇṇāṇ*, *etc.*, forming the *pēṭṭam*—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts in the fifth year of (his) reign, as a tax-free *dēvādāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (god) Mahāviṣṇu at Tirumukkūṭal. This Royal mandate (*āśāṇ*) was written by Tirumondirudai Tāḷi Tiruppaṇāḷ-gāṇḍarān alias Vāṇavān Vallavaraiyan of Nērvēḷ, in Paṇaiṇr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kaṭṭiṇṇaiṇṇāṇ-vaṇaṇḍu and agreed by Tirumondirudai-kōṭṭam Pāṇḍiyāṇ Rājārāja-Brahmanmūṣay and Virarājendra (Śāṅgairarājāṇ. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by Villavarājāṇ, Kaṭṭiṇṇarājāṇ, Viṇḍiyāḷ Rājendravayināgarachōḷāṇ and Pāṇḍiyāṇ; and further endorsed by (1) the Uḷṇakōṭṭam officers Virarājendra-Brahmanmūṣay, (2) Śōḷa-Brahmanmūṣay, (3) Senbiyan Śittirājāṇ, (4) Aṇḍayāḷa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (5) Jayanagondachōḷa-Viṇḍiyarājāṇ, (6) Uṭamachōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (7) the Viṇḍiyāḷ officers Rājavarājāṇ, (8) Kāvērvallabha-Mūvendarvāḷ, (9) Hattavaraiyar, (10) Śōḷa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (11) Virarājendra-Mahavarājāṇ, (12) Vāṇavān-Mūvendarvāḷ, (13) Rājāṇṇāṇ-Mūvendarvāḷ, (14) Rājārāja-Koṭṭigūrājāṇ, (15) Jayanagondachōḷa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (16) Rājendrachōḷa-Aṇḍakappallavaraiyar, (17) Senbiyan-Brahmanmūṣay, (18) Sundarachōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (19) Jayanagondachōḷa-Vayalḷaraiyar, (20) Jayanagondachōḷa-Sōḷamūṇa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (21) Śōḷa-Viṇḍiyarājāṇ, (22) Jayanagondachōḷa-Viṇḍiyarājāṇ, (23) Virarājendra-Tiruvindarājāṇ (a-Mūvendarvāḷ, (24) Rājārāja-Viṇḍiyarājāṇ-Virarājendra-Vayalḷarājāṇ, (25) Kaṭṭiṇṇarājāṇ-Mūvendarvāḷ, (26) Uṭamachōḷa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (27) Pāṇḍiyāṇ-kāṭṭiṇṇa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (28) Raṭappāḷi-Mūvendarvāḷ, (29) Uṭamachōḷa-Mūvendarvāḷ, (30) Virarājendra-Pallavaraiyar, (31)

Mūvūndavēḷār, (32) Maḍikopḷaḷḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār, (33) Vajavarāḷḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār, (34) Gaḍḍaikoḷḷaḷḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) Naḍuvirukkam Uruppuḷḷār-Yaḷṅa-Bhaṭṭa, (36) Sāyaya-Sivajjāḷi-Bhaṭṭa, (37) Kaṭṭipuraṭṭu-Sōḷadēva-Bhaṭṭa and (38) Kaṭṭipuraṭṭu-Anantaḷḷaraiyaga-Bhaṭṭa.

Then the following persons being present viz., *Parurutaraiyapakkalattu-kāṇḍaḷi*, Kūvalai-yadivākara-Mūvūndavēḷār, Arindaman-Puravararambaināṭṭu-Mūvūndavēḷār, Rājaraḷa-Segunāḍu-kijavan, Virakūḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār, Aḷagayāḷḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravacaraiyapakkalam* Saḷukki-lakula-Mūvūndavēḷār, Vāḷavan-Viḷupparaiyan, Vajavarāḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār, Araniṇārāyapa-Mūvūndavēḷār, Sīṅgaḷantaka-Mūvūndavēḷār, *Varippottayam* Pāḷaiyār-kijavan, *Mugaveḷi* Jayanḷḷaḷḷa-Danagūṇṇāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Adamaṅgalemuḷaiyār, Atiṇḍendra-Palla-varaiyan, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Terippu* Inḷaikkūḷaiyār, Māttūṇḍaiyār, Vajavarāḷaṅṅi-Mūvūndavēḷār, *Tamvāṭṭa* Sōḷadivākara-Mūvūndavēḷār, Pulikāḷa, *Palanḍiyam* Paṭṭalamuḷaiyār, Sembiyati-Miḷalaiyār, Araiyamān, *Varipḷiḷḷa* Avanipāla-Mūvūndavēḷār, Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyan, *Varippataya-kāṇḍu* Saḷgattimaṅgalemuḷaiyār, Vajavan-Viḷupparaiyan, *Paṭṭai* Sīru-pakkilān, Maṅgarpakkilān, *Kēḷi-eriyilūḷuḷṭa* *Puravacaraiyapakkalam* Saḷukki-kulakāḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār, Sīṅgaḷantaka-Mūvūndavēḷār, *Mugaveḷi* Sōḷamūṇḍa-Mūvūndavēḷār, Kūṇḍalkiḷān, *Pāḷaiyār* *varippataya-kāṇḍu* Saḷgattimaṅgalemuḷaiyār, *Varipḷiḷḷa* *Parurutaraiyapakkalattu*-*ḷaṅḍu* Sōḷamūḷḷa-Mūvūndavēḷār of Sōḷamaṅḍalam, *Paṭṭai-erudāṇḍa* Virāḷḷa-Nauma-ḷi-nāṭṭu-Mūvūndavēḷār,—all these being present in the 51st year and three hundred and forty-eight day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 76 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold, the abovementioned *pāṭṭam* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷaṅḷu* and 9 *maṇḍi* of gold previously granted as *dēvādāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷaṅḷu* and 9 *maṇḍi*, the income in paddy by the *nṛpaḷāra* measure at 16 *kaḷam* per *kaḷaṅḷu* was 2352 *kaḷam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *āḷi*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *seṇḍu*. This when converted into *aramoḷidēva* measure, at the rate of 1 *kaḷam*, 1 *āḷi*, and 1 *āḷi* of *aramoḷidēva* for a *kaḷam* of *nṛpaḷāra*, became, inclusive of *kāḷēḍi*, *kāḷaṅḷakūḷi* and *kurpaḷaṇḍi*, 884 *kaḷam*, 2 *āḷi*, 3 *āḷi*, and 1 *āḷakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kaḷam*, 2 *āḷi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *āḷi*, 1 *āḷakku* and 3 *seṇḍu* of *aramoḷidēva*.

The taxes accruing from this village, viz., 1 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold by *ūḷkaḷaṅḷu*, 1 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold by *ḷamarakūḷakāṇḍam*, 2½ *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold by *nāṇḍāṭṭam*, 6½ *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold by *kīṇṇipāṭṭam*, in all 11 *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḷai* and 7 *mā*, or 36½ *kāḷu*, together with 28½ *kāḷu* and 4 *mā* by *daḷabandam*, 23½ *kāḷu* and 3 *mā* by *māḷaikkāḷu*, 3 *kāḷu* by the account of *mūḷal-āḷam*, 1½ *kāḷu* by *vaṅḷakkāḷu*, ½ *kāḷu* by *mūḷavaraiyāṇḍam*, 1½ *kāḷu* by *nāṇḍāṭṭam*, 118 *kāḷu* by *āḷakkāḷu*, made a total of 216½ *kāḷu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāḷu*.

For one *tiṅḷaiḷaḷaḷaṇḍi* offering to the *Āḷvār* :—

(L. 18). One *padakku* and four *āḷi* of paddy for one *kurup* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *mā* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kurup* of *payaru*, 1 *āḷi* and 1 *eri* of paddy for 1 *paḷakkūṭṭaṇḍi* (boiled curry), 1 *āḷi* and 1 *eri* of paddy for 1 *porikkūṭṭaṇḍi* (fried curry), 4 *āḷi* of paddy for 1 *eri* of *oṇḍu*, 1 *āḷi* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of ghee, 1 *āḷakku* of paddy for 1 *āḷakku* of salt, 1 *āḷi* of paddy for 3 *areca-nuts* and 1 *eri* of paddy for 20 *betel-leaves*, thus making a total of 5 *kurup*, 6 *āḷi* and 3 *āḷakku* of paddy for one *ṇaṇḍi*.

For the *āḷḷaṇḍal* offering at the Virāḷḷaṅ :—

(L. 19). 1 *kurup* and 2 *āḷi* of paddy for 4 *āḷi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *āḷi* of *paruppu* or 1 *kurup* of *payaru*, 1 *kurup* and 4 *āḷi* of paddy for 6 *āḷi* of milk, 1 *eri* of paddy for 1 *āḷi* of ghee, 1 *āḷi* of paddy for 8 *plantain fruits*, 1 *āḷi* of paddy for 3 *areca-nuts* and 1 *eri* of paddy for 20 *betel-leaves*, thus making a total of 2 *kurup*, 1 *kurup*, 3 *āḷi* and 1 *eri* of paddy for the *āḷḷaṇḍal* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 22 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāḷu* cost 20 *kāḷu*.

For the offering of *Pālpēṇaṅgam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee for *pēṇaṅgam* and *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kurugai* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravartī :—

1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of rice, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kurugai* and 6 *nāli* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Ājvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāṭu*, costs 22½ *kāṭu*. 11½ *kāṭaṅṅa* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22½ *kāṭu* at $\frac{1}{2}$ a *kāṭaṅṅa* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāṭu*. And 1 *kāṭu* is required for *kuṅkumam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Ājvār, 1 *uḷakku* and 1 *ālakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn ; 1 *uḷakku* and 2½ *śevuḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1½ *śevuḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāli*, 1 *ālakku* and 2½ *śevuḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāli* and 1 *uri*¹, which, at 20 *nāli* per *kāṭu*, cost 22½ *kāṭu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaḍi festival to Aḷagiyamaṅavājar :—

5 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku* of rice, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevuḍu* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of ghee, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of salt, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kurugai*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(LL. 22-23). For the Mīḍi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Viraiṇḍiḷaṅ :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṅi* and 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *tūṅi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *kurugai* of curd, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parra* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūṅi*, 1 *paḍakku* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kurugai*.

(LL. 23-24). For offerings during *Jagantyaṣṭamī* to Veṅṇaiḷkūttālvār, i.e., Kṛishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 3 *kurugai* of paddy for 5 *kurugai* of rice, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 2½ *śevuḍu* of pepper, 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurugai* of paddy for 1 *uḷakku* of ghee, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parra* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṅi*, and 5 *nāli* of paddy. For *appa-amada* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kurugai* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kurugai* and 2 *nāli* of rice, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṅi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli*

¹ By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāli* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāli*.

of paddy for 2½ *tenis* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 *eccanuts*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 20 *areca-nuts* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kurupi*, 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantiyashanti* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai:—

3 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puṣiṅgari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 3 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 50 *areca-nuts*, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi*, 3 *kurupi* and 7 *nāli* of paddy. 1½ *kāṣu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāli* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *ālakku* for a lamp.

(Ll. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Ayūḷya* (*Ālūḷa*) in the month *Avai*, of king Virarājendra, are as follows:—

2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumaṅjanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalasas* (pots), 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalasas*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of curd, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *paruppu*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *puḷakku-kari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ālakku* of pepper, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* of curd required for 1 *puṣiṅgari*, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 30 *areca-nuts*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *hastu* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puṣiṅgari* and 1 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kurupi* and 2 *nāli* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *puṣam* (cloth) for covering the *pāḷiyai* kept for sprouting, one *puṣam* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *puṣam*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāṣu*. A provision of half a *kāṣu* for 4 *nāli* of honey, quarter *kāṣu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāṣu* for purchasing *śnapana-dravyas*, one *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam* to be used after bathing, one *kāṣu* for the *dakṣiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāṣu* for purchasing 10 *pariṣattam* at the rate of quarter *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas that served in the *Tūvōḷḷakam* and those who recited the *Tirunāymoli* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāṣu* for one *pariṣattam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festival, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāṣu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pārdam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiṣya* Mādavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-mandapa, a provision of 6 *kālam*, 3 *kuruvu* and 2 *nāli* of paddy was made together with 6½ *kāni* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tīrtham* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Paraiṭṭai-Tiruvāṇam when Vēṇṇakkūttālvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-mandapa :—

1 *kālam* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 5 *kuruvu* of rice, 2 *kālam*, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 200 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kālam* of paddy for 3 *nāli* of ghee, 3 *kuruvu* of paddy for pepper, *tākkas* and salt, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 20 *araca-nuts* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭa* of hotel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kālam* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on *amēṇṇēṇṇi* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(Ll. 23-29). 3 *tūpi*, 1 *kuruvu* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for 3 *kuruvu* and 6 *nāli* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku-kari*, 5 *nāli* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuruvu* and 1 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ṭai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ṭakku* of pepper, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of salt, 1 *kuruvu* of paddy for 1 *ṭakku* of ghee, 1 *kuruvu* and 2 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuruvu* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruvu* of paddy for 10 *araca-nuts*, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *paṇṇa* of hotel-leaves, 1 *kuruvu* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kālam*, 7 *kuruvu* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for each *amēṇṇēṇṇi*. For 12 *amēṇṇēṇṇi*, the provision made was 10 *kālam*, 1 *tūpi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the Jananātha-mandapa on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruvēṇṇajamalai :—

3 *kālam*, 2 *tūpi*, 1 *paṭakku* and 7 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *kālam*, 1 *tūpi*, 1 *paṭakku* and 6 *nāli* of rice at 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruvu* of green pulses, 3 *kuruvu* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku-kari*, 3 *kuruvu* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 1 *paṭakku-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kuruvu* of paddy for 1 *ṭai-kari*, 3 *kuruvu* of paddy for 3 *ṭakku* of pepper, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruvu* of salt, 2 *tūpi* of paddy for 2 *nāli* of ghee, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 1 *kālam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *paṭṭipperi*, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 23 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kuruvu* of paddy for 200 *araca-nuts*, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for 8 *paṇṇa* of hotel-leaves, 1 *tūpi* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāli* of paddy for lime, 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood, and 1 *paṭakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ṭai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kālam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli*.

When the party returned from Tiruvēṇṇajamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kālam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli* of paddy.

(Ll. 31-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came on the occasion of Pūṇṇai-Tiruvāṇam a provision of 8 *kālam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kālam*, 1 *tūpi* and 6 *nāli* of paddy were provided for feeding 120 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the 6 days of the Aṭṭai festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 30 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas on the day of the *tīrtham*. A quantity of 8 *kālam*, 2 *tūpi* and 3 *nāli* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruvāṇṇai* hymns on the days of the *śōḷai* and *śōḷai* in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa and 17 *kālam*, 1 *tūpi* and 6 *nāli*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the mandapa on the occasion of Māṇṇ-Makkā, were also provided.

A summary of expenditures amounting to 5 *nāli* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 6 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāru* per day for 1 *śiru*, 3 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāru* per day, at 1 *kurupi* and 4 *nāli* and 2 *kāru* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvālmūṣi* hymns, 1 *śūpa* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virarājān at 1 *kurupi* each per day, 1 *kurupi* and . . . of paddy per day to 1 *śiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāru* per day to 1 Vaiṣṇava-dēvakanni who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 4 *kāru* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kurupi* of paddy per day to 1 porter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-maṇḍapa, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kāḍas* to the *Ālvar*, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *pariṭṭam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vedic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāru* per day to Tirumukkūdal-Pāraiyān who kept watch in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa and the hospital, 40 *kāru* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *śrūṅṅuramōḷi*, i.e., the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rīg-Vēda in the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, 1 *paḍakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāru* to these two at 4 *kāru* each, 1 *śūpa* of paddy and 10 *kāru* per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpavātāra, 2 *kāru*, 1 *śūpa* and 1 *nāli* of paddy per day for feeding 80 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rīg-Vēda, 10 Brahmins who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmins and *Chāṭṭras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpavātāra, 10 Mahāpāṇcharātra, 3 Śiva-Brahmanas, 5 Vaiṣṇavas and 2 . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāli* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kurupi*, and 3 *nāli* of rice per day, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 4 *nāli* of *payara*, 6 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kūṭi*, 8 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ḍai-kūṭi*, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *paḍakku-kūṭi* including tamarind, 4 *nāli* of paddy for 1 *ḍakku* and 1 *ḍakku* of pepper, 1 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of salt, 1 *śūpa* of paddy for 1 *nāli* of *ghee*, 3 *kurupi* of paddy for 1 *ṭūṭi* and 1 *paḍakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kurupi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāli* of paddy for 2 *porru* of *betel-leaves*, 3 *kurupi* of paddy per day and 6 *kāru* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāru* each, who brought rice from Vayalakkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāru* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāli* of paddy and 1 *kāru* each—who attended on the *Chāṭṭras* and *kūḍai* that were fed in the maṇḍapa, 2 *kāru* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chāṭṭras*, *kūḍai* and the *āḍas* (i.e., the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāru* for purchasing 100 *nāli* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāli* of oil per *kāru*, to meet the requirement of 100 *nāli* of oil to the *Chāṭṭras* and *kūḍai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāli* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāli* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *ḍakku* of oil per night and 40 *kāru* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Virarājān are:—

1 *śūpa*, 3 *nāli* and 1 *śūpa* of paddy for 1 *kurupi* and 7 *nāli* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāli* each, 3 *kurupi* of paddy and 6 *kāru* per day to Savarjan Kōdayarāman Āṭvāthāma-Bhaṭṭān of Alappikkum who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *śimandak-kāru*, i.e., the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (attached to the temple), 1 *kurupi* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kurupi* of paddy and 2 *kāru* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kurupi* and 1 *kāru* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kurupi* of paddy and 1 *kāru* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāli* of paddy and ½ *kāru* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāli* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasūlan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kaṣṭhambūri, of exclusive of *karyagḍy* (nut), 2 measures of Vīś-haritaki, 1 measure of Dakṣiṇā-haritaki, 1 measure of Bhallātaka-haritaki, 1 measure of Guḍāṭram, 1 *tūpi* of Balakēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūpi* of Pañchāṅka-taila, 1 *tūpi* of Lāṣṇādyāraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūpi* of Utiamaḥarṇādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of
 1 *padakku* of Śu za-ghrita, 1 *padakku* of Būyādi-ghrita, 2000 Maṇḍa-karavṣaka, 1 *nāli* of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sundrī, 2000 Tāmraḍi, 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of Vajrasaka and 1 *tūpi* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 *kāṣu* (as provided) for purchasing these, (procuring the) medicinal herbs, purchasing and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi.

(L. 48.) (There had been provided) 2½ *kāṣu* for purchasing 45 *nāli* of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *ḍakku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Paṅgum-Uttiram to Purattāḍi-Tiruvōgam at 1 *koṣu* of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . . to be stocked in front of Jannātha-maṇḍapa; 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūpi*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia; 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūpi*, 2 *nāli*, 3 *ḍakku* and 3 *ṣeṇḍu* of paddy for the *daḥēpā* to be paid to one Brahman that performed *puṇyāḥu* (i.e., purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts; and 1 *kāṣu* and 7 *mā* for (purchasing) 2 *pariṣaṅgam* (cloths) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōgam in the month of Purattāḍi to Mādavan Dāmayan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants.

(L. 51.) (This is the amount of expenses) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūpi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāli*, 1 *ḍakku* and 3 *ṣeṇḍu* and the amount of 216½ *kāṣu* and 2 *mā*.

If this (amount of) *kāṣu* were not available (owing to any default), for every *kāṣu* (of default) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the *Danḍavēṇi*.

(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *śāśana* laid down in the sixth year (of the king), it (i.e., the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *chāḍṭras* and teachers. Paṣupati Tiruvaraṅgaḍēvanār *alias* Rājēnbra-Mūvēṇḍavēṇār of Mīṇarḥuḍi in Iḍaiyāḷa-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Vijayarājēndra-vaṇaṇḍu, (which was a district) of Chōḷa-maṇḍalam, the *adhiḱārī* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this *nāḍu*, having commanded, Iḍavēṇṇi Kumara-Pāṣūrkattan *alias* Virarājēndra-Śembiyadaraṇṇan of Ayaṅḍampākkam in Āḡuḍi-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam, (which was a district) of Jayaṅḡḡḇḍaḷḷa-maṇḍalam, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmayan Gaṅḡaikoṇḍaḷḷan *alias* Śēṇḍapati Gaṅḡaikoṇḍaḷḷa-Danmapāḷa, the son of Dāmaya who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma *alias* Śēṇḍapati Virarājēndra-Danmapāḷa, Taḷuvakkujainḍan *alias* Abhināṇmaṇḍa Brāhmanārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māḡuḷār Namāḷivēyadeva of [chaturvēḍimaṇḍalam in -nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Puḷar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṅḡḡḇḍaḷḷa-maṇḍalam, had (the order) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (the members) of the great assembly (*maḱāḱṣṭhā*) of Śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēḍi-maṇḍalam. Prosperity.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

BY STEN KONOW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshasilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a **copper-plate**, which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharoṣṭhī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932¹.

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, pp. 242 and ff.

The **letters** are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *tha*, the last *akṣara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvati*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-vatsapa* instead of *-vatsapa*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The **alphabet** is Kharoṣṭhī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akṣara* *chān* in *Chānāśāśna*, l. 2, the very distinct *tā* in *samratāraya*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutrenil de Rhina manuscript and the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tashu*, Skr. *trishu*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayāsa*, Skr. *Krishayāsa*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayasa*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *ak'ushachi*, Skr. *anushakūḥyām*. Professor Rapson has shown² that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *sha* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *y* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shyushachi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of **numerical symbols** we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the **shape of individual letters**, it will be seen that the bottom of *ka* is angular in *graka*, *gaha*, l. 2; *putrehi*, l. 3; *shyushachi*, l. 4; *notu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ra* in the compounds *ra*, l. 5, and *tā*, l. 1; cf. the *ra* of the silver scroll and the *tā* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded; cf. *grā*, ll. 2, 3; *trā*, ll. 1, 3; *dāra*, ll. 2, 4; *dāra*, ll. 2, 4; *prā*, ll. 2, 5; *śrā*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *grā*, l. 5; *dāra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

¹ [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8.45 by 2.63 inches and weighs 870 grains.—Ed.]

² *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.



analogic *r* is denoted by a loop in *arm*, l. 3, while the incomplete *ekahara* in *an(r)pa*, l. 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop.

The anusvara is noted in the usual way in *anvratāraṇḍa*, *Chandrabhā*, l. 1; *Nandivallabha*, l. 3; *Śivagandhā*, l. 4, but omitted in *dhma*, l. 4. A redundant anusvara is found in *Dharmama*, l. 2, while l. 4 has *Dharmat*.

The *language* is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The phonetical system is broadly the same. The vowel *ṛi* is represented by *va* in *grahamā*, Skt. *grahapati*, ll. 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahathabani*, Skt. *grahasthāpā*, l. 2. Intervocalic *ḥ* has disappeared in *vama*, Skt. *apāmbhā*, l. 1; *amushabhi*, Skt. *amushabdhigā*, l. 4, and *pratiā*, Skt. *prāptikāya*, l. 3, but is represented by *y* in *anvratāraṇḍa*, Skt. *anvratāraṇḍā*, l. 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *k*, i.e., probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *-gāma*, Skt. *-gāyama*, l. 5. Instead of *-ch-* we find *y* in *ayariya*, l. 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *cha*, l. 4, but *cha*, l. 3. If *Santa* represents Skt. *Saṅgha* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ḥ* becomes *ya* in *payā*, Skt. *pāṇi*; *payā*, Skt. *pāṇi*, l. 5, but remains in the name *Boja*, l. 4, which I cannot explain. In *apā*, l. 1, *-i-* denotes the voiced *s*, i.e., *z*. Intervocalic *t* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d*; cf. *grahamā*, Skt. *grahapati*, ll. 2, 3; *dhā*, Skt. *dhā*, l. 2; *dhāpa*, Skt. *dhāpā*, l. 3; *heta*, Skt. *heta*, l. 5, but *dhāpa*, Skt. *dhāpā*, l. 3. In the unaccented prefix *prati* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *pratiāraṇḍa*, Skt. *prāptikāya*, l. 3; cf. *prathivya* in the Tarila gold plate; *prathivya* in the Jamnagarī inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *anvratāraṇḍa*, Skt. *anvratāraṇḍā*, l. 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*; cf. *vāsa*, Skt. *upāśā*, l. 1; *grahamā*, Skt. *grahapati*, ll. 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharoṣṭhī records in *thaba*, Skt. *stāpa*, l. 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *ṇ*. The compound *vy* becomes *vi* in *ayariya*, Skt. *āchārya*, l. 4, and *y* in *dhāya*, Skt. *dhāryā*, l. 3. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharoṣṭhī records. Similarly we have *qima* for Skt. *nirvāṇa*, l. 5, but *arm*, ll. 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dhmma*, Skt. *Dharma*, ll. 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *s(ṣ)* to the ending *śh* in *amushabhi*, Skt. *amushabdhigā*, l. 4.

Of inflexional forms I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals *tem dhūga*, Skt. *dhātṛā*, l. 3, and *amushabhi*, Skt. *amushabdhigā*, l. 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Paulsen's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem. nat. plur. in *dhī* should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) **Chandrabhā** (Skt. *Chandrabhā*), the daughter of the householder (*grahapati*) **Dharmma** (Skt. *Dharma*), the wife of **Bhadravala** (Skt. *Bhadrapāla*) puts up relics in the 'house-stāpa' (*grahastāpa*) at **Chhāḍasāla**.

The term *grahastāpa* (Skt. *grahastāpa*) is new, but evidently means a *stāpa* standing in a *grāha*, i.e., a walled building. For we have already seen that our *stāpa* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

Chhāḍasāla, on the other hand, must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *stāpa* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of **Takhasāla**, though the last part of the two names, *śāla*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient **Takhasāla**. **Chhāḍasāla**

is designated as *rāṣṭrakūṭa*, Skt. *rāṣṭranigama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the *Bḥmāyana*,¹ Takhaśīlā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Takṣa, but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was left to be derived from the base *takṣ*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avaśāna* of the *Dīpāvaśāna* the town was formerly called Bhadrāśīlā, and in one of his *jāta* the Buddha was born as Chandraśraddha, king of Bhadrāśīlā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhman. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *nappirūṣā*, i.e., according to the late Professor Andreas, "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takhaśīlā*. *A priori* it is quite possible that *Takhaśīlā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhaḍaśīlā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhaḍa*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhaḍā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhaḍaśīlā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takhaśīlā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhaḍaśīlā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takhaśīlā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'o-t'o-the-lo* in v. 23 of Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūri* (A.D. 516), which Professor Lévi² wants to restore as *Chhadashila*.

In establishing the relic Chandaśīlā was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Satta (i.e., perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughter-in-law Rajā and Indā, her grandson Jivanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharmā's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *nandin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jivanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariya ya*, which can only mean 'and (with) her *āchārya*'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariya sarvastivāda parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the Sarvastivāda teachers; cf. *acharyana sarvastivādina parigrahani* on the Kurrat, and *acharyana sarvastivādina parigrahe* on the Kanbeh casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvastivād(r)ana parigrahe*, without *ayariya*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *rāṣṭrakūṭa*, Sanskrit *rāṣṭranigama*, evidently Chhaḍaśīlā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is dated *samvat samvatsara masava ditava trivile—23*, in the year 134 . . . on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvaṇa, i.e., it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The crucial word in this date is the genitive *ayasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ayasa* is identical with the genitive *ayasa* preceding *ashadha* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *āyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" *āśāḍha* because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, *āśāḍha*. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

¹ VII, 101, 10 L. cf. *Regemont*, xv, 82.

² *Notizen von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

³ J. A., XL v. 1915, p. 39.

The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvapa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 130, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhantas* had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharoṣṭhi records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aṣa* can be written both *y* and *ṣ*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ṣ*, because *-y-* remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ṣy* appears as *ṣy*, *ṣiṣ*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.¹ We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āṣa* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādi* and *ādika* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *ajya*. But no such countervailing influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āṣa*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a "first" Śrāvapa or Āshāḍha, as opposed to a "second", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *ṣ* side by side with *y* in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *ṣ* or with a voiced *s*-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *ajasa* must be the genitive of *aṣa* (*āṣa*) or *asa* (*āsa*). I am unable to find any possible word *aṣa*, *āṣa* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,² that *ayasa*, *ajasa* means "of Aśva," the double writing *aya*, *aṣa* being parallel to the doublets *kuyula*, *kujula* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Aśva. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Aśva," he said, "is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson³ took the same view, and added that "Aśva could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning".

The late Dr. Fleet⁴ has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way: "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

¹ cf. *Corpus*, pp. cv, cvii.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 222.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 907, 908.

the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name.¹ "Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be '(in) the year 136 of Aya,' this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him."

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means "of Azes," as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.² In my reading it begins *ka 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *ka*.

In his review of my edition³ Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because "we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *śāhvatārāya 191 sakam*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *śāhvatārāya 134 ajam*.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been "struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years," as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takahastī people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushāṇas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word "of Azes", without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: "in the year so-and-so, Azes style".

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

¹ *Corpus*, pp. 81 f.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *biruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Málava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Málava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Málava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [c] 191 shows, it is true, that an older Saka era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihotika-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Manigula is Iranian *carula*, for Iranian *a* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-ware inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushānas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Birkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila ware of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārtti-kādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihonika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Mairā well inscription of the year 59, if it actually contains the name Mōa, i.e. Moga; with the Mānsahrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kahatrāpa Liāhā of the Patika plate; with the Shahdaur inscription of the rājā Damgada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kahatrāpa Dāniyāda, and perhaps with the Pāchjāy, Lavirān Targai, Jamālghāh, Hāshnagar, and Skārah Dberī inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Satva era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,¹ once thought of ca. 93 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Banerji² suggested ca. 100 B.C., Mr. Jaysawal³ ca. 123, and Professor Rapson⁴ ca. 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihonika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāna conquest of Takhsaśāh, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, i.e. A. D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophares. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushānas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's⁵ criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjāya Kapasa pyag*, in honour of Prince Kapa, i.e. Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between Kapa and *er*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A. D. 46. At the time of the Pānjtār inscription of the year 122, i.e., A. D. 65, on the other hand, the Kushāna power had become established, and at the date of the silver-urn inscription of the year 136, i.e. A. D. 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihonika vase was made about A. D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, i.e. about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150—78, i.e. about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.⁶ If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrāpa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrāpa in Mathurā, viz. Rājula, who had a son, the Kahatrāpa Sodāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrāpa in the Āmohini tablet of the Vikrama year 72,⁷ i.e. A. D. 10. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B. C.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 286.

² *J. R. A. S.*, xvi, p. 240.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 180.

⁴ As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *ayādhāyaputī Patika erja nuyha[ra] Rohinimāyaga m* *inuyha[ra]nuyha[ra] mātānāhā*, the great gift-giver Patika together with the *ayādhāyaga* Rohinimāyaga, who is overseer of works in this Saṅghārāma.

There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jeura* as proposed by me, *Cerypa*, p. cviii f.

⁵ I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Asia Orientalis*, vi, pp. 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's stone symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Eddies, *Asia Orientalis*, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way come from North-Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly engraved in place, if not in time, from the Mairā inscription."

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, xxvii, 1908, p. 67.

⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 570.

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yü-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-135 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.¹ In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B. C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Malra well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Lā in Mā-mbrā, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B. C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B. C.

The Kushāgas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yüeh-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, viz. Hiu-mi, the present Wakhan; Shuang-mi, the present Chitral; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tan, the present Parvān on the Panjab, and Kao-fu, i.e. Kābul.² The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tai-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (i.e. he assumed the title "Kushāga-king"). He further invaded An-shi (i.e. the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)³ and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yeo-kao-chen (i.e. Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (i.e. the Indian country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 167-125).⁴ Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annales*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A. D. 125.

¹ Otherwise Hagen, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 288.

² Cf. Staquart, *Erasmusk*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Hsiao-shu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu-mi.

³ The name of the place was, according to Karlgren, No. 700 and 706 Hsi-dai. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butghā, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Baber, travel, by John Leyden and William Erskine, II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "foot-dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni once broke up the idols he brought from Hia-dustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butghā might be a corruption of an old Butghā. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

⁴ Cf. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, xii, p. 123.

968A

KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Kharosthi, inscribed on a copper plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines across the plate.

SERIES OF INDIAN, CALCUTTA

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

HIRAKANDA SASTRI

The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharāḥḥī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujūla Kadphises' attack on An-ū and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 45, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.¹ Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, i.e. A. D. 65, we find a *maharaja Kushāna*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujūla Kadphises styling himself Kushāna King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujūla Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Lōriyān Tanguī, Hashnagar and Skārāh Dhērī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Manūka Dhērī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1). Sathvatārāya I 100 20 10 4 ajasa śrāvāṇa masasa divase tveṇa 20 1 1 1 imeṇa kharāḥḥī Chāndrābhī namā (L. 2) Dharmasa grahavatīsa dhīta Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhādā-kīlāsa tarīra prāntaveti gahathu- (L. 3) hami sadha bhrādnyā Nandivardhāṇa grahavatīsa sadha putrāhi Śameṇa Saitēna cha dhītūna cha (L. 4) Dharmas sadha āghuṣaḥaḥī Rajas Idras ya sadha Jivapandita Śamaputreṇa ayarīṇa ya sa[r]vasti- (L. 5) vāṇa parigrāhe rathāṇikamo puyāita sarva(v)asvāna puyas qivāṇasa prātie hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Aśva, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Śrāvāṇa, at this term the female worshipper (*upāśikā*) Chāndrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) Dharmas, wife of Bhadrāpāla, establishes relics in Chhādāśālā, in the chapel-*śūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jivanaudin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings, may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

¹ That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kanishkas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujūla-Nermaina coins and in the notice in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hsü principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

No. 40.—KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA, ŚAKA 889.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., Ootacamund.

The stone which bears this inscription¹ was found at Kolagallu, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.² This is the earliest record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khottiga so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters closely resembling those of the Dāṣṛī³ and the Kachhī⁴ plates of Kṛishṇa III. The average size of the letters varies from ½" to 1". The *ṣ* sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom, on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *śāntayāśāntā* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *rik-sāmav* (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of sandhi are not observed in *parush* *kumār* (l. 31) and *śāntā abhishikṣā* (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first pāda of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *daṇḍiloma* and *lōhama* (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhama* nor *daṇḍiloma* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five *yōgio śāntas*,⁵ viz.,

पद्मामनं ध्वस्तिकाण्डं मद्रं वज्रामनं तथा ।

वीरामनमिति पोषं क्रमादामनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means Śiva is here possibly used for Kārttikēya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādhara also. In respect of orthography,⁶ the following points may be noted : (1) A superfluous *anvaya* is sometimes used before double *v* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *varmanā-dhīpatya* in l. 20, *vidvān* in l. 28, *śāntay-śāntā* in l. 42, *śāntayāśāntā* in l. 50 and *śāntayāśāntā* in l. 68) ; (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *śāntayāśāntā* (l. 23) ; (3) the letter *v* is used in place of *h* in *Almala* (l. 72) and *śāntayāśāntā* (l. 70) ; (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* as in *rik-sāmav* (l. 29) and *śāntayāśāntā* (l. 70) ; (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *śhrāmāṣṭya* as well as for the *upadhamāṣṭya* as is seen in *śāntayāśāntā* (l. 63), *prīṣṭh-kapardinā* (l. 77), *śāntayāśāntā* (l. 31) and *cāpyāsh-Pārmā* (l. 55) ; (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *śāntayāśāntā* is used instead of *śāntayāśāntā* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated Śaka 889 expired, the year Kārya, Sunday, the Sixth (*ṭithi*) of the bright half of Phālguna, when king Kṛishṇa had died and Khottigadēva was ruling. This Khottiga is no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūṭa king of Malkhēḍ, the half brother and ancestor of Kṛishṇa III.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikēya and other gods at the village of Kolagala by the Brahmarshī Gadādhara. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

¹ No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² Part II, para. 36.

³ *Ahara*, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁴ *Ahara*, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

⁵ See *Śāntayāśāntā* under *śānta*.

the god Kārttikasīdya (Skanda) and his *deva* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *śāśvata* belonging to the Śāśvatiya-gōtra and as a great jewel of the Gauḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varāṇḍī country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikasīdya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *prabandh*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārin*s to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khottiga is Saka 890, Vibhava, Jyāshṭha Suddha 1, Thursday¹ (A. D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khottiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhād grant² of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēoli plates³ whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēoli plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti, Vyatipāta, Monday⁴ (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Iśāmudra inscription⁵ of his father Baddega Amoghavarsha III is also dated in Saka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amoghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēoli and the Karhād plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājadhīrāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Iśāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn⁶ long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyana-saṅkṛānti of the Iśāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

¹ Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Col. 30. An inscription of this king (found at Hunavalli) (Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, 85, 931) is dated Saka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, Suddha purnama, Adityavāra, Śaṅkṛānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 450.

⁴ Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, 85, 476.

⁵ Ibid. Vol. XI, Col. 77.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXV, p. 203; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 115 of 1913, 116 of 1913, 473 of 1914, 476 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Brahmabhaṅga Pillai in his *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishna succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Krishna. Our inscription tells us that Khottiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Krishna's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Krishna is 6th March A.D. 965.¹ Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.² Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., परमोक्तं गति तस्मिन्नात्मा कृष्णदृष्टे निधौ राज्ये खोद्दिदेवस्य (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Krishna's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khottiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Krishna's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.³ The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: पात्यति मति प्राप्ते खोद्दिदे राज्ये मेदिनी. We may, therefore, conclude that Krishna III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Krishna's reign was the 28th year.⁴

Gadādihara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Kolgalla of A.D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Kolgalla.⁵ We learn from an inscription at Kudatini⁶ that this person set up in that village an image of Śkaṇḍa. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varāndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Krishna III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,⁷ took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Rishi, that he was a *drīpa* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kudatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varāndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājshahi".⁸ As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name,⁹ but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

¹ Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.

² See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 384 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

³ Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁴ The date of the Kūṭar record which has been wrongly read as the 1304th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 222 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 26th year.

⁵ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.

⁶ Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 259.

⁸ Above, Vol. I, page 205 f. n. 2.

⁹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Takāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. Tadjā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Kolagala is, doubtless, Kolagallu where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT.¹

[Metres : vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; 15 and 22, *Sārdūlavikrīḍitam*.]

First Face.

- 1 स्मृति श्री [॥*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्स[र]२[॥१]-
- 2 ठ(ठ)शताशीतिनवाधिकचयसंवत्स[र]३ फाल्गु-
- 3 णशुद्धपञ्चाकदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
- 4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्वास्वा कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [॥*]
- 5 राज्ये खोद्विगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कनौ सु-
- 6 मे ॥[१*] वैलोक्यत्यक्तकृपाय विख्याताय
- 7 [यश]स्विने [॥*] स्नामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
- 8 य नमोऽर्चमः(नमः) ॥[२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
- 9 द्रुद्रात्मजं शुभं [॥*] सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
- 10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३*] सुरसेनाधिपत्ये-
- 11 ठस्त(स्या)स्य सत्वं महात्मनः [॥*] शृण्वन्तु विपु-
- 12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४*] हेमव-
- 13 ष्ठा(ष्षा)सनोय^४ विर्मुणा^५ शौर्यं कपदिनः ।
- 14 [दि]जयेष्टगदापाणेः शाश्वतं धर्मको-
- 15 र्त्तनं ॥[५*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
- 16 र्विशोभितं [॥*] तेजसा शुभमत्यंतमिंद्राद्यै-
- 17 र्यदितं सुरैः ॥[६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
- 18 पूर्णोन्दुरिव निर्मलं [॥*] पापघ्नं वेधसा स-
- 19 ष्टं कामकपि सुखावहं ॥[७*] खित्वा दंडा-
- 20 सने तस्मि(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां [॥*]
- 21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोय देवेश-
- 22 रागभूः ॥[८*] हेमस्य नलिनोगर्भं पद्म-
- 23 खो द्वादशेक्षः [॥*] आतस्म(श्च)रवणे वा

^१ From linked *anustupajuga*.

^२ The letter *श* is engraved below the line.

^३ Possibly this line has to be corrected into *विजयशायनस्य*.

^४ Read *वीर्यशान्*.

- 24 लो विष्वात्मा परमेष्ठिनः ॥[८*] रुद्रव(प्र)-
 25 आद्यवधो यस्तारकश्चासुराधिपः [१*]
 26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन डादयाकं[च]-
 27 तेन सः ॥[१०*] सुवि खौरक(यन्त्रेक) एवायं [देव।]-
 28 स्तेजोमया कृती । द्विजान्मन्त्रकृष्ट[ले]-

Second Page.

- 29 यं रि(क्लो)कामेर्वेदपार-
 30 गः ॥[११*] विष्मत्तवचु-
 31 धुरूपो कुमारो^१ वि-
 32 श्वतोमुखः^२ [१*] शीम-
 33 क्कोलमलपामे च-
 34 भिषिताः ग्रमे दि[ने] ॥[१२*]
 35 लोहाभनी च शाण्डि-
 36 ल्यस्तपस्वी गदाध-
 37 रः [१*] विद्वज्जनायवो
 38 विद्वा(इ)ग्मौडचूडाम-
 39 निर्गुणी ॥[१३*] स्वर्गवास-
 40 निर्मितार्थ तडाया[मो]-
 41 त्र(इ)वेन तु [१*] स्थापितो
 42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्दुर-
 43 शीतकारिणा ॥[१४*] क-
 44 श्मीर्यस्य परेभ्य एव भ-
 45 वने कं(क)न्वेव दातुं स्थि-
 46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-
 47 जन्तुहितकृषीपम-
 48 मेवामन्ता [१*] भक्षिर्यस्य
 49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्व-
 50 क्कादन(न)न्धाशु(चि)ता त-
 51 म्मे स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]

^१ कुमारः कुमारो.

^२ This reminds one of the Vedic *श्वतोमुखः* विष्मत्तवचुः विष्मती मुखी विष्मती वाहयुत विष्मतेत्यात् । अंशद्वया भवति सप्ततुर्लोकः । सुमी कृतवन् इव एकः ।

FIRST FACE.

264A

SECOND FACE.

2 वल्लि... कक... प... ला... नी... र... क...
 4 ...
 6 ...
 8 ...
 10 ...
 12 ...
 14 ...
 16 ...
 18 ...
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 22 ...
 24 ...
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30 ...
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 52 ...

THIRD FACE.

54
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58
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62
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68
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72
74

FOURTH FACE.

76
78
80

52 [ब]सुधादेवपु(प्रि)याया-

53 [नि]शं ॥[१५*]

Third Face.

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तवेवाकीं वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 म्वरस्तडागमठिकाशप्यप्यार्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६*] [स]ष्टे स्थापिता[ः*] कीर्ति-

57 विदिता स्वयंवासिनां [ः*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता समेत धीमता ॥[१७*] सुर-

59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्तिं गायंत्वसुरमस-

60 दा [ः*] जयत्यधौ कपर्दी च मृगाकव-

61 दतो मुनिः ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[ः*] स्था-

62 ने विवर्द्धिप्रोपकारकं [ः*] दुर्भिक्षम-

63 ष्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९*] स्ना-

64 मिभक्षारकष्याय वरषामचिर-

65 नानः [ः*] शतौ न दत्ता वसुधा पृथ-

66 कृत्वा विविधतः ॥[२०*] मृद्वीत्वा परिभि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या मतिचोदका [ः*] विप्रे-

68 भवन्त्या न हर्तव्या सामो(मा)न्वो धर्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१*] योऽकर्माङ्कुशाद्वयदिज-

70 वरषामस्तु(शामास्तु) तर्कारितो निष्कम्पः क-

71 मतिर्मत्तममभवत्तस्मिन्पुत्रि[धं]-

72 डितस्तत्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्रितः क्षितावतिव(व)-

73 लस्तस्मादभुदय(व)स्तुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुस्तदनाथ्यजविना गम्हा प्रश-

75 स्तिः कृता ॥[२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 गदाधरेण सज्जितं

77 त्रया प्रीतिष्कापदि-

78 नः [ः*] तथान्वेरपि क-

79 तंत्वा भविष्यन्न(व)द्या-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*month*) of Phālguna in the (*cyclic*) year Kahaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Kṛṣṇaśāhā—the king named Kṛṣṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was erected*) in the Kālī age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (*Let people hear*) the three *guṇas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *garbha* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gādā* and the meritorious act (*of the best of Brāhmanas*) *Gadādhara* which is eternal.¹

(V. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *dayādhara* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śaravara* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve arms as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by *Ṛika* and *Sāmāna*.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (*i.e.*, who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Parashā* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a *tāhāraṇī* (*ascetic*), who is a *Sāṅghīya* and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taijā and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varāṇasī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmanas, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

¹ There seems to be a *śloka* here upon the words Kapardin, *deja-brāhṇa* and *gādā-pāśī* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikōya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.

(Vv. 16 and 17.) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahāśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells *were constructed*. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikṣhamalla (*i.e.*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmīn (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmaṇas, like Bali, the son of Viṛōcana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmīn. It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmaṇas should not be snatched away; (*this is* the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (*was born*) the scholar Rishi; his son was Atibala renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i.e.*, Atibala) was this excellent *prastuti* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gaṇādharma¹ towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brāhmachāriṇas*.

NO. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

By A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920². It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10½" in length and 8½" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *liṅga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in **Telugu** characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in **Sanskrit**. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma³ and the Phirāḍipuram inscription of Kōṇaṭi-Vēma⁴ though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

¹ The word *affid* seems to be superfluous.

² No. 2 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year 1919-20*.

³ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.

is it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvali inscription¹.

The inscription records the grant of the village Rāmātīrtham situated in the Śrīśaṅga-bhūmi and the Ammananībēḍu-śrī as a *śara-āyāhāra* to Chittamūri Timmana-Bhatta who was the son of Kāmāśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kauṇḍīnya-gōtra, Yajñatākhā and Āpastambha-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages Chīmakūrti, Bhīmāśvaram, Palikopḍa, Mallavaram and Kumārāpuri and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*śaury-ādāya*) (of these villages) and the water of the Pedda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (in the division I) and land at the rate of 200 *kūṇḍa* measured by a pole of 16 *hāra* in big villages and 100 *kūṇḍa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Kārana of the village Chīmakūrti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yava Kārttika 12, Thursday, Maṇvadi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates² of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātva is substituted for Yava the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Raṣṭri chiefs. For instance, *Chenāchamala-chārakāra*, or *Chenājināla-chārukāra* as given in the Amarāvali inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chenāji or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūrāra* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūra" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliṅga-gaṇḍa-śāra-śardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kalinga."³ The title *Mammiyārdya-mūṇḍa-rājakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Mammiya hilly country". The term *Mamma* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vīṇagapatam and Ganjama districts. Similarly the titles *Vaḍḍiyārdya-viṇḍhama-ḥama* and *Janturaḍḍiyā-halla-kallāda* signify victories over the Kings of the Vōḍḍiya (Oḍḍu) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturaḍḍa which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṇḍas of Kalinga, from which, for instance, the Narasīpaṭam plates of Vajrahastī II were issued. The title *Pāḍya-gaṇḍa-śāra* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāḍya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāḍyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dāḍḍipāṭa* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvāṇḍipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III dated in his 15th year⁴ records the victories of two Hoysala generals *Jayachōḍḍipāṭa* Appaya-Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Daṇḍāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpparūḷḷiṅga who overcame the Chōḷa sovereign Rājārāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śāndamaṅgalaṃ. The chiefs that are referred to

¹ S. I. i., Vol. VI, No. 243.

² Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 211.

³ Some of these titles are explained in the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1960, p. 77.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160-2.

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-dēśāpāya* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysala generals of the Tiruvāndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatiyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōlas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuvijōga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōlas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōlas of the Nellore District who had the titles Mādharāntaka-Potappi-Chōla and Gaṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchīpuram and Tondaimaṇḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the annointment of heroes at Vikramasīṅhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatiya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōla chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Prathāparandra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *virūdas* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysala generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kālīngarāya, Oddiyarāya, the Janturāṣṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatiyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brāhmakapḍī (the Guṇḍlakannḍī), the Kṛishṇavēḍī, i.e., Kṛishṇā, the Gōḍḍavāḍī and the Mahā-nadī, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*śālās*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*īka-rāya-dēśāpān-dēśārāja*) and the only ornament to the throne (*īka-simhāsana-dāmalāra*).

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VĒMA.

Next in chronological order comes the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devī Hanumachariu of Keḍitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9½" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *talas*. The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates *ib*, *iiib*, *ivb*, and *v* are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially: The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōḷaya-Vēma, i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Viṣṇu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

padbhūm Śāstrā-bhijñāta. In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīlaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmadri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely Anna-Vōta and Anna-Vēma (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (i.e., Śrīlaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vikṣaṇa-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called Rāvutu Kēśa near the river Kṛishṇavāhī before the very eyes of god Amariśvara. The work also says that King Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalagoppi family and got them dedicated to him. Sōrama, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gēra* of Hārīta there was a pious Brāhman named Nṛisidāha who was a lion to the elephants, i.e., the disputants (v. 16). His son was Bhīmāśvara-Sōmayājñi who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was Pōtibhāṭṭa; to him was born Gaṇḍayāryya whose son was Peddi-Vīdvān, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vīdvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Paṭṭahani-Tāṇḍipattu (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bīla-Saraavati, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature *Pallava-Trigōtra*.

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Saka year counted by *mas* (6), *raśa* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1874 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vīdvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Redḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants of Peddi-Kōmati-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalavāmalu in Saka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Saka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmas and Sārya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in *Jyautika-śāstra*.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bīlasaraavati who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīlailam². Another poet in this king's court, viz., Triśchanābhārya is already known to us. He composed the Vānapatti³ copper-plate inscription of this king.

C

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *mas*. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr.

¹ *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* 1919-20, Nos. 13 and 14.

² See *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 39.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 B.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says: "The donor is king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor Saṅkara, the village granted is Pinapāḍu, the composer is the poet Śrinātha-Bhaṭṭāraka, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great Śrīgiri. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "Śri-Viraṇārāyaṇasya".

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the donee Saṅkara and the poet Śrinātha were at Śrīaṅga on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-mahātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Sāntayya, a disciple of Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, Śrinātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīaṅga during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, the head of the Virāṭaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Śaiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. Thus Sānta-Bhikṣhāvṛitti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Oaruna dedicated his *Namurāṭha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikṣhāvṛitti, who was the donee of the Śrīaṅga grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpākṣha, was one of the gurus of the Virāṭaiva *maṭha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Saṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmins they officiate as *Achāryas* to several Śaivas who are not Brāhmins.

A

TEXT.

- 1 Śri-Tripurāntakāśvara []
- 2 Svasti Śri [] Vijay-ābhyudaya-Sūlivāhana-śaka-varaṣambula 1237 agni-
ṣṭi Yuva-
- 3 nāma sathvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Gura-vācara manvādi mahāpuṇya-
kālanunaru-
- 4 da Yaju(ś)-śikh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kauṇḍīya-gōṭr-śdbhavaluṃnu (l u n n u)
śrīmad-yaja-
- 5 n-ādi-śhaṭkarma-nirata-āgu Kāmāśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri paṇḍi(tra)luṃnu(luṃnu)
Kopdu-bhaṭṭarakuni-
- 6 vāri-paṇḍi(tra)luṃnu-āgu Chittāṃbri Timmana(Timmana)-bhaṭṭa-śastrulavāriki svasti []
śakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ślari-
- 7 kāra Chārchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvambhar-ābharaga-rahaca-śakala-śakalaṣa
(kaṭipa)-bhujā-damḍa
- 8 Jagatnabha-gaṇḍa āniya(anya)-maṇḍalikara-gaṇḍa rāya-chēkōlu-gaṇḍa rāya-
śikara-gaṇḍa
- 9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmadri-dāna-nirata prajā-patipālana-chatura karaga-bharaga rūpa-
- 10 Nārāyaṇa Vira-Nārāyaṇa bhujā-bala-Bhima kōdamḍa-Rāma aparimāta-bhū-dāna-
Parāṇ-
- 11 rāma anḍka-nagar-śpākaṭha-pratishṭhāpita-baha-vidh-ārāma saṭṭagaḍi-śakala-pā-
laka jaga-ra-

- 12 kaha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhatto-vibhāḥa gāma-bhujā-virāja.
cūṣa-Katavāla
- 13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāḥa jala-durga-jaladhi-bhujabānala sikala-durga-havana
Halāya-
- 14 dha anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōma-pāna Śrīparvata-Ahōhala-nirmita-sōpāna
dhūḥ(dik)(kāṇ)-
- 15 vā-maṇḍhara kṛiti-kusum-ānōda Kunḍiprabhā-Saṁhya(Sakya)jā-Gaotami-
- 16 jala-kṛidā-vinōda Kaliduga-rāya-māma-maḍa-maḍama maḍiniya-rāya-maḍa-
- 17 vāṇṭakāro Voḍḍiya-rāya-ninḍhima-dhāma Jadhur-bōḥa-rāya-haḥa-kallōla a-
- 18 ti-rāya-basava-Saṁkara virōdhi-ajipa-dāhava-Sarasidhva(ha) Pādōḥya-rāya-gaja-siṁ-
- 19 hra(ha) prajāḥa-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kṛidā-rāya nitya-paripālita-astya Palli-ādi-
- 20 tya rupa-natapati-gōdhanva-ghattana-gharatta Appaya-Gōpaya-dīḥa-paṭṭapa(paṭṭa)
saṁgrō-
- 21 ma-samulidanaḥa-chamḍḍa-bhuj-ādi-vikhamḍḍita-kṛita-kūḥa plavanāna-Brahma(alama)
kum-
- 22 ḍi-Kṛiabhavḍḍi-Gōdāvari-Mahānadi-taṭi-dvayan(va)-madhya-dōḥa-anēk-āgrahā-
- 23 ra ogaṇya-puṇya-kshētra-satra-baḥa-vidh-āhāra Pūrva-samudrādihāvara
- 24 ēka-rāya-athāpan-āchārya ēka-siṁhvā(hā)ṇa-ālakāra śrīma(t*)-Tripurāntakadā-
- 25 va-dīrya-āri-pāda-padam-ārādha-kul-aina śrīmatu-Vānaya-Rōḍḍigāru viāyiniḥa yi-
- 26 chōḥina bhū-dāna-dharma-śāsanam || mad-bhujā-damḍḍa-paripālana-aina
sāmbhō(āra)ḥya-
- 27 m-āṇḍu Śrīkailā-bhūmini Aśmusa(Amma)maṇḍrōḷi śī(śi)malō Rāmatirṭhaṁ sarv-
āgrahāramam-
- 28 nna(munna) Chāmakurā-Bhūnōḍava-Palikomḍḍa-Mailavarāṇi-Komārapuri-grāma-
- 29 mulu ayidinḍḍiyamḍunna vāḥ-polath-lōnanna charvula kṛinda mā-
rōḍḍa-
- 30 pi-lōnanna āku-tōḍḍala-cheruku-tōḍḍala-lōna bhūni chaturth-āṇḍam
- 31 sarva-mānyach-gāṇḍamḍunna miḍḍina muppātika bhūmini paṇḍina nāṇḍ-
phalā-
- 32 dṇakomḍunna(nna) ahōḍas-āṇḍam mōḍḍu suvarṇ-ādāyāṇaku paṇḍam-
āṇḍamḍunna
- 33 pedda-chervu nīḥḥḥa yi grāmāḥu gāka yitara grāmāḥa paṇḍḍina
dhānyāṇaku dōḍam-āṇ-
- 34 samonnu śī(śi)ṇā-mūḥaḥ prati-grāmamulachḍunna(nna) padahāru-bāḥa
ghaḍam
- 35 pedda vāḥḥḥa innūḥ kunḍalindunna(nna) chōṇa vūṛiki nūru
gudḍḍala kshētram-
- 36 nna sarva-āṇḍamulachḍunna(nna) yi-lāḥa nūṇam chōḍi Rāmatirṭhaṁ
modat-aina ā-
- 37 ru grām-ādulayamḍunna aḥḥa-bhōḍa-avāmya-avataṇḍramulunna chaturvi-
- 38 dha-yōgyam-gā sa-hirany-ōḍaka-dāna-dhārā-purvaṇ-gā yippinḍḍini gaṇka . . .
- 39 . . . tra-pāṇḍiparyamunna aṇḍḍala vachēḥina phaladā ā-cha . . .
- 40 ḍuvāṇu || dāna-pūḥamḍyōr-madhyō dāṇḍch-āḥḥa . . .

41	achyutash	padash || 6k-ai[ra]	. . . . .
42	vipra-dattā	. . . . .	. . . . .

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

- 1 श्रीनाथ(ध)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो न. पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं स्मृतोवीत-
- 2 महीतलोपरितटोनिर्घातशृङ्गांकुरा । वामाक्षीयज्ञो-
- 3 दितां शशिकामाशंका जातः [ख]णं सौहार्दितं विजृम्भमाणसन्नि-
- 4 तारंभो महोभोनिधिः ॥¹[1*]॥ तस्यो ज्येष्ठां तव पुण्यवत्तो राजा-
- 5 सु पूर्वपरशोलवा(भा)जो । स्वांगलोवाभिवदमयत्तो पुरा पुरारः²
- 6 पृथिवी(वी)र्यस्य ॥³[2*]॥ पादारविंदादरविंदनामिमेभ्यः पुण्या च-
- 7 नजीवनयोः । जाताभिजाता मृतया(भा) विभिन्ना जातिचतुर्वी जगतां
- 8 हिताय ॥⁴[3*]॥ तस्यामभूजोन्नयवेमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
- 9 नशाक्षी ॥ (4) हेमाद्रिजल्योदितदानदक्षो निष्पीमभूदाननिद्वदक्षीर्तिः⁵ । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 चितीषो इवममेकपादं शंखमचारं कलिकालदीपान् । दत्ता-
- 11 चहाराहजवेदयत्वा पदक्रमैरस्तुतितं चकार⁶ ॥⁷[4*]॥ धर्माक्षजो दा-
- 12 यरधि(धि): प्रयुक्तेन्दुदीर्यमाणानि युगांतरेषु । वितर्क्ये वेम-
- 13 नरेन्द्रस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि⁸ ॥⁹[5*]॥ यक्षीर्तिलोचननना-
- 14 मुरगांगनानामालोकितं च मुखरागमनंगमूर्त्ति⁹ ।
- 15 श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां युगपच्चक्षो नागाधिपो न महति नयन-
- 16 श्रुतिर्त्वं ॥¹⁰[6*]॥ संध्यामपातोस्व शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्वारिचुडामणयो
- 17 विचेतुः । आक्रामतस्थंयति राजवंशान् प्रतापवज्रैरिव विष्कुलि-

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 18 गाः ॥¹⁰[7*]॥तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवादेर्जातो प्रतापवरकांतिनिधो ह
- 19 भारो । मुख्यं दत्तुममहमावनवीनभूपः¹¹ शीयस्वेम-

¹ Metre: *Śaṅkhaśekhara*.² The name is written in the next line.³ Metre: *Uṣṇasravikā*.⁴ Metre: *Indramajā*.⁵ Metre: *Indramajā*.⁶ Metre: *Indramajā*.⁷ Metre: *Uṣṇasravikā*.⁸ The name is written in the next line.⁹ Metre: *Vamśatāṇḍī*.¹⁰ Metre: *Uṣṇasravikā*.

- 20 नृपतिर्जगत्तपातः ॥^{8*} श्रीश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतेगोवी(भी)रमेरो-
 21 र्वैः । गदनां हृदयेषु संनारमुञ्जे भिक्षुं पूर्वं र-
 22 मं । यदीरं तिरकासयद्वयसो वेगात्कुतोप्या-
 23 यतो [1^a] युक्तप्राक्तनमंनु निर्यामयति प्रत्यक्षमत्तुर्जितं²
 24 ॥^{9*} गगाम यः श्रीनगपूर्ववा(भा)गादापूर्वैरक्षाकरमंधुदे-
 25 मं । आमिखनं मेखलभूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतभूतः ॥^{10*}

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताच्च[*]श्रीयन्त्रवेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं ।
 27 शूरायमण्यः चुरिकासहायो विवा(भा)ति वीराहवर्किल्लोत्तः ॥^{11*} श्रीय-
 28 न्वैमनृपते(तिः) शुगि(रि)कासहायो वीरारिवचसि विलेखनकेलिद्वजः । मो-
 29 यं करकुम्भगतुलिकया विचित्रं कात्ताकपोलमजरीकरणे स-
 30 कंयः ॥^{12*} श्रीयन्त्रवेमनृपतेर्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्चितां युधि
 31 कलादवरोपितानि ॥ (i) चारोपयत्पुमनाचरणं तदीयं कोटी-
 32 रचात्तरमितातपवारणानि ॥^{13*} मोयं वा(भा)तुरनन्तरं निजमाहो-
 33 वा(भा)रं बहन् पैलकं राज्यश्रीरमणीयवद्वरपति[*] श्रीयन्त्रवे-

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 34 मप्रभुः [1^a] गगाम् पूर्ववृपालकैश्च शुद्धया वा(भा)वा च विप्रापितान्
 35 मज्जानम्यनुपालयन्पि दिशन् जायति लोकोत्तरः ॥^{14*} अथ प्रतियजो-
 36 ह्वयंभावकी ॥ आमीदंजुजसंभवान्ब्रह्ममुवां गण्डो वरेखसा-
 37 तां विख्यातो हरिताडयो मुनिवर कर्ता स्मृत्यैवेदिवत् । त-
 38 द्वाते परवादिजुंजरघटाभिहो नृसिंहोभवयस्यो-
 39 दाहरणं चरितमनघं वेदोक्तस्तत्कर्मणां ॥^{15*} तस्यावजो या-
 40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजो । यदोयज्ञोमानल-
 41 धूमरेखा दिगंजनापञ्चकपर्ण(णै)पूराः ॥^{16*} पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-
 42 भदो गुणी ततो जायत गुडयार्थः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेदिविहान्]

¹ Metre : Pansantallakā.

² The inscription is written in the next line.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre : Uṣṇīḥ.

⁵ Metre : Uṣṇīḥ.

⁶ Metre : Pansantallakā.

⁷ Metre : Pansantallakā.

⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁰ Metre : Uṣṇīḥ.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

274A

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Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 43 देवज्ञवृडाभगिरेष वा(भा)ति ॥[17॥*] माकाञ्दे रसरजवा(भा)स्करमिते मासे [नभ]-
 44 से तिदौ राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुष्ये गमाकयदे । प्रादा-
 45 त्यावतमाय पेहिविदुषे शीयस्त्रवेमाधिपो घामं पञ्चनितांदि
 46 पङ्क्तिमसमाटैस्त्रयंभोगान्वितं ॥[18॥*] अस्त्र घामस्य सीमाचिज्ञानि ॥
 47 ऊरि ईशान्यं वज्रंमिकुण्डनुडि प्रदक्षिणमुगानु अस्ततल-
 48 रि पोलसुसंधुन नाम्नेयदक्षिणं सागि बलुसुवुहल मी-
 49 दं बहुमळिचि दक्षिणमै नङ्गुण्ट मोचि चालुपुहल मी-
 50 द नाम्नेयदक्षिणमै तुळुमिडि पोलसु मोचि पडुमळिचि
 51 पेहपुहनुडि दक्षिणमै अस्ततलूरि डोक दाटि जन्निपुह

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 52 मीद नैरु(क्व)तिपश्चिममै जंमिपुह मीद दक्षिणमै कोळपुह मीदं बहु-
 53 मळि जंमिपुह मोचि दक्षिणमै उप्पिपुहल मीद मूलवंपुपुह मोचि
 54 पडुमळि वीरवंक उप्पिपुहल मीद नैरु(क्व)तिपश्चिममै दक्षिणमिचि पडुमळि सागि
 55 चोळु मोचि पुहल मीदं बहुमळि दक्षिणमिचि तुळुमिडिस्त्रोपळिनि-
 56 पोलसुसंधु चोळु मोचि आसंदि चालुपुहल मीद नैरु(क्व)तिपश्चिममै चोणु
 57 ट इडिकावसु दक्षिणानंगानु पडुमळि तोकपोलसु तूर्पण-
 58 हु उत्तरं सुहित मडुज जन्निपुह मोचि दक्षिणमै गारकुण्ट तूर्प
 59 गड मोचि पडुमळि कंदेपिपोलसु मोचि आसंदितुत्तरमै अणुळिन्नङ्गु-
 60 ल[गु]ळु मीद वायव्योत्तरमै कंदेपितेरुपुहल मीद उत्तरपु जं-
 61 मिनंदि ळीति मीद नवुळिपल्लेसु पडुमटंगानु जंमपुह मी-
 62 दं बहुमळिचि उत्तरमै पालकोटि मीद मीतुकूरि आलपाटि सं

Fifth Plate, First Side.

- 63 वु पेह[नंदिकंभं मोचि आल]पाटि मंभु(धु)नदूर्प्यं पुह अणुळिगुण्ट [मीद]
 64 दक्षिण[मिचि तूर्प्यं अणुळि]गुण्टल मीदं गोर्बपुहल मोचि उत्तर[त]रमिचि
 65 तूर्प्यं जन्निपुहल मीद नवुळिहिपुह मीचि उत्तरमै मूलपुहनुडि तूर्प्यं जन्नि
 66 मीद मूलपुहनुडि जटलवपाटि तूर्प्यं उत्तरं सागि जन्नि मीद मू-

* Metres: Upadesameter.

* Metres: Śārdhastotram.

* The square is written in the next line.

- 07 लपुह मोचि जंमुल मीदंगा दूयें दक्षिणमिचि तूपुसागि नज्ज-
 68 ट तिण्ण पंदपुहवोहि जच्चि मोचि उत्तरमे गारपुहल मीदंगा वल्लुडु-
 69 वुह मोचि तूयें अवुडुगंटल मीदंगा वेदपंडि चालपाटि संदु-
 70 चवुटगुंट पडुमट नेडगल्लगोनपुह मोचि जच्चि मीद दक्षिणं सागि जच्चि-
 71 पुह मोचि तूयें [पे]दपंडि चालपाटि संदु चौहु मोचि दक्षिणमिचि मोल-
 72 कुट तूडुल्लगुलि चालुपुहल मीद दूयें सागि वडुमिगुंट मो-
 73 चेनु ॥ एतेयां मज्झिमसंज्जेतं ॥ स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं पुण्यं पददत्तानुपा-

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

- 74 लनं परदत्तापदमिण स्वदत्तं निष्कलं भवितुं ¹[(1*19)] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 75 वा यो इतं जसुंध(ध)रां । पडिं वर्यमज्झमिणि विठ्ठला
 76 जायते क्रिमिः ²[(20*)] एकोव भगिनी लोके सर्व्वसामिणि सुसुवां
 77 न वो(भो)म्वा न करपाद्वा विपदत्ता वसुंध(ध)रा ³[(1*21)] असवेमनरे.
 78 दस्य विद्वान् वालमरस्वती । शकरोदाकरो वाचा सिन्धे[न]⁴
 79 धर्मशासनं ⁵[(22*)] मम्मज्झमाद्यो[ः]⁶ यो यो
 80 योपज्जवलिणेत ⁷[(*)]

C

TEXT.

- 1 इ दांकां वोचि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमे कडुगुलकर वडि वच्चि रेक्खवडिय
 2 दापुन मूडुल्ल मुज्जल्लुंदि देशमुडोक्क वच्चि कुनि पडमटिक्कि दिनि वंदु-
 3 ण्णदापुन मगुडि उत्तरानज्जं वोचि देशमुकुंठ तूपुन मगुडि तूपु-
 4 मुखमे कुनि पञ्चावलपज्जपु नेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तच्चडि-
 क्कं दच्चि
 5 णान वोरमि उत्तराभिमुखमे पोयि कुनि तूपुमुखमे नडचि गरुड येक्कि तूपु
 6 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमे कुनि तूपुमुखमे रंदुपहुव नडुमुवडि नडचि म-
 7 रुवल मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमे वच्चि यथास्वानानं गूडंतु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-
 8 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्थानं चैत्यनपादुरव तु कचिः श्रीनाथ-
 भट्टारकः ।
 9 कालखेच्छिवरात्रिपुस्तसमयः साची महान् योगिरिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्यंते सुक्क-
 10 विभिः सुखंतु तच्चासनं ⁸[(1*)] सर्व्वमान्दकतथमशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपाति-
 11 वाः । अथहारपरिचषादुते नास्ति नास्ति हि वशो भवतीत्यतां ⁹[(2*)] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं

¹ Metre : Anandjukk.

² Metre : Jōdakkimakkāṭṭam;

³ The sentence is written in the next line.

⁴ Metre : Rakkiddhath.

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

276

100.

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to Lakhasēna; vv. 310-332 to Mōkala and vv. 333-270 to the *Maḥārāja Kumbhakarṇa*. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of *Lakṣmāśiṃha* from the previous slab and states that he died (in battle) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālwā king *Gōgaśva* (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of *Artaśiṃha* who was born in *Lakṣmāśiṃha*'s family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of *Hammitra*. This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Viśvamedhī Pūṣkhaṇḍa*, conquered the fort of *Chālavāṭa* (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son *Kaśītrasiṃha* as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king *Rajamalla* of Gūjaramandala, who had humbled the pride of the Śakas (i.e., Muhammadans) king (vv. 191-193). He took *Dālavāṭa* and *Sōdhyāpura* and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant *Rajamalla* who had suppressed *Dātara Khāna*, the lord of Paitana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of *Kaśītrasiṃha*. He drank up the ocean in the form of *Amṛtsāha* (v. 197), conquered the rulers of *Hāḍavati*, brought their country under his sway and laid waste *Maṇḍalākara* (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings *Sādala* and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of *Gujarāt* (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured *Amṛtsāha*. He was succeeded by his son, the *Maḥārāja Lakhasēna* (v. 204). This ruler liberated *matholi* (viz. *Gayā*, *Prayāga* and *Kāśī*) from the Śakas (i.e., Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at *Gayā* (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill *Vardhana*, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the *Mōḍas* (Mers) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of *Śiva* and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Maḥārājādhirāja Maḥārāja Mōkala*. He is said to have made Brāhmanas to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated *Gayā* (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of *Sapṇḍalākṣa* and made *Jālandhara* tremble with fear, while having taken *Śakambhari*, he made *Delhi* a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated *Pirōja* and *Maharṇada* (v. 221). He was devoted to the god *Samudhīśvara* (Śiva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tiṛhās* (bathing ghats) called *Rājanūchana* and *Pāpanūchana*, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion made of all metals as a vehicle of *Dēvi* and presented a gold *Garuḍa* to *Vishnu* (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son, the *Maḥārājādhirāja Rājārāja Rājārāja Maḥārāja Kumbhakarṇadēva*. In verse 235 his mother's name is given as *Saubhāgyadēvi*. He was devoted to the god *Ekallāga*, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *darpa* and *kalasa* to it, built a high *stūpa* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was *nībhūṣita* (fearless) in composing poems and *nirbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *nībhūṣita-nirbhaya* (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings *Guhadatta*, *Kṣumāga*, *Śatīvāhana*, *Ajaya* and others and adorned the throne of *Kaśīta*, *Lakṣa* and *Mōkala* (v. 245). He conquered *Yōginipura*, subdued the ruler of *Sōdhyā* and destroyed his enemies at *Maṇḍōyara* (vv. 247-249). He also captured *Rajavira* after ravaging *Hammitrapura*, destroyed *Dhānyanagara*, conquered *Yāgapura* and the mount *Vardhamāna* and humbled the pride of the *Mōḍas* (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have routed the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at *Jayavardhana*. He took *Janakāchala*,

distressed Champavati, burnt the city of Vrindāvatī and caused trembling to the hill fort of Gargarāja through valour (vv. 237-239). He burnt Mallārauyapura, upheld (?) Sishhapuri by scattering the enemies, desolated Ratnapura and imprisoned many kings (v. 299). He conquered Rapastambha in Sapādalaksha, devastated Amradātri, got the best of his quarrel with Kōṣarā and laid waste Bambāvado (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of Maṇḍalākara, won with ease Hāḍāvati, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered Gōpura, Shatpura, Vrindāvatī and Maṇḍaladurga, desolated Viśālanagara and attacked Giripura whose ruler Gaipāla fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated Mahamada at Śaranigapura and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of Pārasika (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the Mālava king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, Lakshmasiṃha (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called Sisōḍā belonging to the Rājā (junior branch) of the Guhila family of Mewār. He was killed along with his seven sons¹ while fighting against 'Alau-d-dīn Khāṣṭī of Delhi in the siege of Chitor in A.D. 1303, during the reign of Rājā Ratnasīṃha of Mewār. His victory over the Mālava king Gōṣadōva² mentioned in v. 181 is also corroborated by the Ratnapura³ inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the Mālava king appears to have taken place during the reign of Ratnasīṃha's father Samarasīṃha.

Arisiṃha was killed in the battle of Chitor as said above. Only the youngest son of Lakshmasiṃha, namely Ajayasiṃha survived to become the ruler of Sisōḍā.

Hamīra (v. 185) was the son⁴ of Arisiṃha and succeeded to the throne of Sisōḍā after his uncle Ajayasiṃha. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of Chitor.⁵

Kahstrasiṃha (v. 191) was the eldest son of Hamīra. The Muhammadan army which he destroyed near Chitor (v. 192) was that of Amī Shāh, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave Rāyamalla, who had humbled the Muhammadan king and killed many Muhammadans (vv. 193 and 194), was the ruler of Idar and was the son of Jaitkura, who was defeated by the Mahārājā Hamīra.⁶ Datar Khān, the ruler of Pattan (v. 196), was probably Zafar Khān (II), the governor of Gujarat. He was a descendant of a converted Rājput and fought twice with Rājā Rāyamalla of Idar.⁷ He afterwards assumed the name of Muxaffar Shāh, after making himself independent of the king of Delhi.⁸

Amī Sāha (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the Sulṭān Dilāvar Khān Ghuri of Mālwa,⁹ whose defeat by Kahstrasiṃha is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.¹⁰ The ruler Sādai and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. Sādai, however, appears to be the ruler Sādai of Tōḍī in Jaipur state.

¹ As appears from v. 180 of this record.

² He is called Kōkū and was defeated by 'Alau-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Biggs' *Priakita*, Vol. I, p. 201.)

³ *Epigraphia Indica*, p. 114. Also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Ser. of India*, 1907-08, p. 215.

⁴ [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in later poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 326—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 55, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 232-33.

⁸ *Duff's Chronology*, p. 234.

⁹ *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol. 1, p. 407. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 502.

¹⁰ See also *Raj. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 79, and *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 2.

Maḥārāṣṭra Lakṣmaṇa (v. 204) was the son of **Kaṣṭraśiṅha**. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gays from the taxes of the Mahammadans by paying them off in gold, as he also known from another inscription.¹

Mōkala (v. 210) was a son and successor of the **Maḥārāṣṭra Lakṣmaṇa**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or **Firoz** (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of **Shams Khān**, brother of the sultān **Muzaffar Shāh** (originally **Zafar Khān** referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujarat. His defeat by **Mōkala** is also mentioned in other inscriptions.²

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for **Ahmad** (**Ahmad Khān**) of Gujarat, who was the grandson³ of **Muzaffar Shāh**, I, and was contemporary with the **Maḥārāṣṭra Mōkala**.⁴

Kumbhakarna (v. 233) popularly known as **Kumbhā** was the eldest son of **Mōkala** and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1490 (A.D. 1432).

Guhadatta, **Sālivāhana**, **Khumāna** and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of **Kumbhakarna**. **Guhadatta** was the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. **Ajaya** or **Ajayaśiṅha** evidently belonged to the Śiṣṭā branch and was the brother of **Ariśiṅha** referred to in v. 192.

The lord of the Pāraikas referred to v. 268 was **Sultān Mahmūd Khān** I. of Mālwa, who was defeated by the **Maḥārāṣṭra Kumbhā** at Sārangpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rānapur inscription. **Maḥārāṣṭra Kumbhā** had to undergo a series of engagements⁵ with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālwa king, as is evident from v. 270 of this record.

Gayapāla (**Gaiḥa** or **Gōpāla**) of v. 267 was the ruler of Durgapuri State.

As to the places mentioned in the inscription, **Chālavāṭa** (v. 188) is now called Jilwār in Mewār. **Dēlavāṭa** (v. 194) from Sans. *Dēvalapātaka* is the modern town of Dēlvār about 16 miles from Udaipur. **Hāḍavāṭi** (v. 198) is the territory now called Hārauli, which at one time comprised the whole of the present Kotāh and Būndi States. It is under the Hāḍha, a branch of the Chauhāna descended from the Chauhāna of Nāḍōi in Mārwār.⁶ **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198) now called Māṇḍalgarh, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by **Kaṣṭraśiṅha** is also mentioned in the Sriṅgi Rāhi inscription.⁷ **Vardhana** (v. 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called Balnor, a town in Mewār.

Jālandhara (v. 221) really a district or town in the Panjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (Jāvalūpur) in Mārwār. **Sapāḍalākṣa** (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the Chauhāna. It roughly included parts of the modern Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotāh, Būndi and Kluhan-gurh states and the eastern part of Mewār including Māṇḍalgarh. **Sākambharī** (v. 221) once the capital of the early Chauhāna is now called Sāmbar.

The temple of **Samādhiśvara** (v. 223) is now called Advadji or Mōkalji's temple. It was originally built by the Paramāra king Bhōja of Mālwa when he resided at Chitor and was called *Tribhuvanānāṛāyaṇa*⁸ after his surname 'Tribhuvanānāṛāyaṇa'. It was also known as *Bhōjavarāṇasīśvarajayati*.⁹

¹ *Bham. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 38.

² *Bham. Ins.*, p. 120, Date 44.

³ Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Firoz Tughlak of Delhi is wrong. (Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 321).

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to Mahammad Tughluq. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 327 &—Ed.]

⁵ See Briggs' *Fortifications*, Vol. IV, pp. 308-34.

⁶ *J.A.S.B. (New Series)*, Vol. XXVII, p. 160.

⁷ *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. **Maṇḍōvara** (v. 249) is the ruined town of Maṇḍār in Jodhpur State. **Yāgapura** (v. 253) is the town of Jahāpur in Udaipur State. **Vṛindāvatī** (v. 254) is now the town of Būndī in Rājputāna. **Gargādṛa** (v. 259) is the town of Gāgrām in Kōṣāh State. **Siṃhapurī** (v. 260) is the town Siḥor in Central India. **Raṇastambha** (v. 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. **Amṛadādri** (v. 262) is Amber, the old capital of the Jaipur State. **Bambavādō** or Bōmbādō (v. 263) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. **Shatpura** (v. 264) is the town of Khatakar in Būndī State. **Viśālānagara** (v. 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. **Girīpura** (v. 266) is the town of Durgarpur in Rājputāna. **Sārāṅgapurī** (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. **Kōṭarā** is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 188, 192, 193, 197, 201, 203, 205, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Śiṣṭāślokaśloka* ; vv. 181 and 230, *Śiṣṭāśloka* ; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upadślokaśloka* ; vv. 183 and 244 *Āryā* ; v. 184, *Harṣa* ; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti* ; v. 187, *Vaṣṭānta* ; vv. 188 and 243 *Māhāt* ; vv. 189, 206 and 213, *Indrasajāt* ; vv. 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 265, *Vaṣṭāntaśloka* ; vv. 196, 199, 209, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Śrāgṭhār* ; vv. 202 and 255, *Bhujangaprayāṇa* ; v. 208, *Vaṣṭānta* ; vv. 211 and 215, *Rachirā* ; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathādānta* ; vv. 226 and 227, *Deṇṭarī-lambā* ; vv. 216, 236 and 257, *Prithir* ; vv. 242, 249, 253, 261 and 266, *Amṛadādri* ; vv. 256 and 258, *Vigṛāni* ; vv. 212, 232, 264 and 269, *Śiṣṭāśloka* .]

- 1 चर्चिभिः किमु सप्तभिः परिहृतः सप्तार्चिरागतः किंच सप्तभिरेव सप्तभिः
[जावाक]तसप्तभिर्दिव ॥(i) इत्यं सप्तभिःचितः सुतवरेष्टेः[*] ग्रन्थपूतेः[*]
सप्त प्राप्ते बुद्धिभूतपुर्ववृत्तपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मिणि रूपे ॥ १८०[॥*] चरित्यस्यारातेभ्व-
मरतिनख(क) गोपकमले स राड् [गो]गादेवो-
- 2 पि हि समधिभुजान्वभुवः ॥(i) विजिग्ये येनाजौ निजभुजभुजगोर्जगरलप्रभारात्
सिंहान्तः समभवदसौ लक्ष्यवृत्तिः ॥ १८१[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलप(ख)भमोवर्णनं
॥ ॥ अथ चरिसिंहवर्णनं ॥ अभूत्सिंहप्रतिमोचिसिंहस्तदन्वये
भञ्जपरंपराख्ये ॥(i) त्रि(त्रि)मिद यो वैरिगजेदकुंभस्थलो-
- 3 मनुनां नखखड्गवातः ॥ १८२[॥*] पीतवैरिखड्गधराह्रिपुलांगदुवतायदसिंहप्रभुजंगात् ॥(i)
अभूत् समभवत्कलाशामडनं नवयशस्तुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥*] ग्रामिधवलया
कीर्त्तनीव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिमिलितया मन्ये प्रत्याययन्निव भासते ॥(i)
रजतनिचयं दास्ये चंचलप्रहारजतं तथा
- 4 त्वजत् विपुलां चित्ते चिंतां धनीपकमंडली ॥ १८४ [॥*] इति चरिसिंह-
वर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमोरवर्णनं ॥ हवीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो
वाद्याधुरीतर्जितकेकिरीः ॥(i) धराधवालंकरणैकहीरस्तदानी भूषितसिंधुनीर
॥ १८५[॥*] मन्येभुकरगौरगौः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः कल्प-

- 5 नातोतो रोहणपर्वतोपि सुविद्या नो मानसं रोहति ॥ (1) चित्ताग्रमापि जने
ज(ज)कावजडता धर्तधिया भूधये दानप्रोक्तचारुपाणिक्मले कर्मादयः
के पुनः ॥ १८६[॥*] यदपितैरविजनसुरंगमैरनर्घ्यहेमांगदहारकुडैः ॥ (1) अलङ्कृतः
कल्पतरौ कृताययं सुराधिराजं हसतीव
- 6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥*] कटकतुरगहेपाविभुते सख्य)त्तयेयं जवति च रघुभूषे
कादिगोत्रि पलाशे(य) ॥ (1) चहह विषमधाटीप्रौढपंचालनीसावरिपुग्म
[भिदुर्ग] चेलवाटं विजिये ॥ १८८[॥*] ईश्वराराधने दानं वीरवीरवणे
रणे ॥ (1) कदाचिद्वैव विद्यांतः करो ह्यमीरभूपते ॥ १८९[॥*] स विचमिहे
तन-
- 7 ये निषाद्य तत्रः स्वकीयं चिदिवं जगाम ॥ (1) यद्धो यथाज्ञोस्तमयं हि
भावो महात्मनामच निसर्गसिंहः ॥ १९०[॥*] इति महागणाधीश्वरीरवर्णनं ॥
॥ यथ महागणाधीश्वरसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ततोभिभूमीशमहेभमिंहः स्वनादवित्रा-
मितमनसिंहः ॥ (1) संभावनामोदितसख्यसिंहः यशस
- 8 भूषिं किल चेषसिंहः ॥ १९१[॥*] येनानमंतभक्तदीर्घहृदया श्रीचिचकुटांतिके
तनकैतिकघोरवीरनिदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥ (1) मन्वे यावनवाहिनी निजपरि-
चाणस्य हेतोरलं भुनिचेपमिषेण भीपरयया पानाकमूलं यद्यो ॥ १९२[॥*]
संशामाजिरसीषि शौर्यविजयमहोद्देहहेतोः
- 9 महापरीवृतवाण्डट्टिमितागतिप्रतापानलः ॥ (1) वीरवीरणमङ्गभूर्जितप्रकम्पापाल-
मर्वांतकं भू(भू)र्ज(हु)र्जमंडलेमरमसौ कागारहेवीवमत ॥ १९३ अर्द्धो
नू नूनं महदुद्यमो यदित्यं वचस्तत्फलं करिष्यः ॥ (1) शोधां पुरीमातल-
मूलधारं जं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥
- 10 वीरस्य यस्य समरेधि करं हृपाणीमुत्वंशुक्रामरिभटानिलवदवणां ॥ (1) दृष्ट्वा
भुजंगयुपतीमिव वैरिदणांश्चाभासमुदमपि गोः पदतामनैषु ॥ १९५[॥*]
माद्यन्माद्यन्महेमप्रखरकरहतिचित्तगात्रन्ययुधो यं पा(ष्ठा)नः पत्तनेशो दफर
इति समासाद्य कुंठीव(व)भूव ॥ सीयं मत्तो रणादिः
- 11 शककुलवनितादतवैधव्यदीचः कारागारं यदोये नृपतिगतयुते संस्तरं नापि
खेम ॥ १९६[॥*] शश्वच्चलवाजिवीचित्रत्वं सच्छचित्तम्याकुलं माद्यत्कुभिसपच-
खेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमीलाज्वलं ॥ (1) रथापाहचलाचलं भुनदमीसाहावुनाधोवर्जं
यो शेषादपिध(व)त् शकार्ष्यमग-
- 12 खं तं समूहेषिलं ॥ १९७[॥*] हाडावटीदेमपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं
चाकवमीचकार ॥ (1) तदच चिचं खलु यत्करांतं तदेव तेषामिह यो
वभंज ॥ १९८[॥*] यात्रीतुंगतुरंगचक्रखुरावातोच्छि(च्छि)तै रणभिः सेहे

यस्य न लुप्तश्चिपटलव्याजाप्रतापं रविः ॥ (i) तच्चिचं किमु सादलादि-
कनृपा यथाक[ता*]स्तवसु-

13 स्वज्ञा स्नानि पुराणि वास्तु वलिनां सूक्ष्मो गुरुर्वा पुरः ॥ १८८ गम्भागन्विह-
ताजिलंपटभटवातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छचप्रोद्धतपांशुपुंजविसरप्रादुर्भवत्तर्दमः ॥ (i) वस्तुः
सामि हतो रणे शक्यतिर्यक्तात्तया मालवच्छापोद्यापि यथा भयिन चकितः
स्वप्रेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० [॥*] वारंवारम्-

14 मेकवारणघटासंवहविचामितानेकच्छापतिवीरमानवशकाधीशैकगर्वांतकः ॥ (i) संया-
माजिरसंगतारिनगरीलुंटाकवाहुर्दृपः ॥¹ कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो
गू(गु)र्ज्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ [॥*] अमीसाहिरघाति येनाहिनेच(व) स्फुरद्वेक-
एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥ (i) जगचा(जा)णक्यस्य पा

15 शौ कृपाणः पमिदोभवद्वृपतिः चे(खे)तराणः ॥ २०२ [॥*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य
विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्त्रिचिह्नवृत्तिः ॥ (i) वज्रैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसार-
निवृत्तपु(तु)दिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाधीशेचसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
महाराणाधीलक्ष्मणेनवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेचादिव वैजयंतो म-

16 हासमुद्रादिव मी(शी)तराणिः ॥ (i) मुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव
तच्छादिह लक्ष्मणः ॥ २०४ यत्नेनः किमयं न सोम्यवशगः किं
धर्मसूनांतुजः स्कीतः सोयमयं व(व)लिखिपदिकामाचप्रदः किं न सः ॥ (i)
इत्यं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पारिशेष्यान्वितो विद्वद्भिः स्वभुजार्जिताधि-

17 कधनः चीलचसिंहो रूपः ॥ २०५ [॥*] जंबूद्वयः किं परिलोच्य राज्ञानोतः
सुमेरुर्नु समाहृतो वा ॥ (i) इत्यूहिरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेक्ष्यास्य वनीप-
कौघाः ॥ २०६ [॥] कीनाशपाशान् सकलानपास्तत् यच्चिखलीमौचनतः शक्तिभ्यः
॥ (i) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारोज्ञाच्छाभूपो निवृत्तप्रतीपः ॥ २०७ [॥*]

18 रविरिव नलिनी निशातुवारात् विधुरिव यामवतीं महांधकारा[त्] ॥ (i)
पवन इव घनाक्षवाकंभासं यवनकराच्च गयाममोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ [॥*] संलोपादिव
विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पंकादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां
वं(व)धाच्छहीवज्रभः ॥ (i) आगोपालकभूमिपालससक्तचक्रेशिलान् याचकान् द-

19 त्वा मुक्तिमहाकृतं पितृगणानानंदयन्नापरं ॥ २०९ [॥*] न कांचनतुलामसौ
व(व)हुविधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुलां परैः सममवाप्तुमैच्छत् कश्चित् ॥ (i)
गयामपि विमोक्ष तां तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गयां
स्वकीर्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० [॥*] अमोचयद्यवनकरात्रयामयं तुला अधादमि-

¹ *Depictas unnecessary.*

² *as is written on the margin.*

- 20 तपराक्रमोमिताः ॥ (1) अपूजयत्कनकभरमं श्रीसुरानकारयत्सुगन्धिलयाश्चोदितान् ॥
 २११ [॥*] मदानाराडजसादुजसजडेरीधोरध्वानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥ (1) कारंकारं योषची-
 द्यतेजा दधारातिर्वहेनाख्यं गिरीदं ॥ २१२ [॥*] इयंश्च(च)वज्रजनरेखरश्च
 वृत्तिः*] प्रवृत्तिः(त्तिः) स्वभुजाजितैव ॥ (1) ये भुजंते चान्यवलोप-
- 21 यत् यत्तं नृगला इव भूमिपालाः ॥ २१३ [॥*] यदप्यितैरविमणो महद्विर्धामैर-
 नैतरभजवृत्तम्*] ॥ (1) तदंजितैः शासनपञ्चपुंगवैरनारतं मुक्ताकवानिवासीत् ॥
 २१४ [॥*] विमोचितान् बहुविधवोरमंस्तैर्विलोकितुं जननिचयानिवागमत् ॥ (1)
 शिवांतिकं शिवपरितः(ता) शिवाधवक्रमांशुजां चैनपरिक्रीण-
- 22 कल्प(क्ष)पः ॥ २१५ [॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलक्ष्मणवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ
 महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीसुगांकमोक्तैर्द्रव्यवर्णनं ॥ अणोधिर्वि पारिकातक-
 तश्चंडयुतेदं(ड)भृशहस्तवैसुपर्वणामधिपतेरामीध्वयतो यथा ॥ (1) ईशस्यैव
 यजाननो गृहपतेर्वहत् कुगो भूपतेरम्बासीदतुलप्रतापतपनः
- 23 श्रीमोक्तैर्द्रोगजः ॥ २१६ [॥*] यो विग्राम(न)मितान् जलं जलयतः कार्येन
 उत्तरत् वेदं सांगमपाठयत् क्षुल्लिगलक्ष्मो धरिषीतले ॥ (1) देव्यामीन
 इवापर श्रुतयतामानंदकंदः कलाकौशल्यव्रततीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥
 २१७ [॥*] दृष्टेन रचयंतमद्भुततुलाहेमः सदा संपतद्यागाव्या-
- 24 इतितर्पितो व्यहरयत् मन्त्रे तुलोपायनं ॥ (1) तत्पूज्यं कनकाचनं जम्बहारम्
 च चेलोपमौ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ हिमाद्रिमकराहं सुरग्रामणौ ॥ २१८ [॥*] पतन्मुक्त-
 गयाविमुक्तापिष्टभिः प्रोक्ष्यमाना इडाहडा संयमिनीं निषत्स्वनुगवादित्यं तु
 भूमिं यमः ॥ (1) किं सामर्थ्यमपोहितं खलु क्लेयौताः ज
- 25 कामादयो युक्तं याति न कोधिकारधिरतौ वल्लेधिकां कालतो ॥ २१९ [॥*]
 नलः किमैलः किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्विनैरहितयादिहेकः ॥ (1) कलंक-
 मुक्तः किमु यामिनीशस्त्रित्यंजनी यत्र वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥*] चालोद्याश
 सपादलक्षमश्विलं जालंधरान् कंषयन् दिङ्गी शंकितनायको व्यहर(रच)यसादाय
 शाकांभरी ॥ (1)
- 26 पीरोजं समष्टंमष्टमदं शरशतैरापाख यः*] प्रोक्तमन्(न)कुंतव्रातनिपातदीर्घ-
 हृदयांस्तस्यापधीदंतिलः ॥ २२१ [॥*] वृषः समाधीनरसिद्धतेजाः समाधिभाजां
 परमं रक्ष्यं ॥ (1) अपराध तस्यालयमुहधर योचिचकूटे मणितोरणांकं ॥
 २२२ [॥*] तीर्थमत्र कृष्णमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि लितीन्वरः ॥ (1) आद-

* Read: कुलाभापरिक्रीण-

* Read: व्यहरयन्.

* These two syllables are redundant.

- 27 कुंडमपि मितुमंडनं मंडनं विजयतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥*] यः सुधांशुमुकुट-
प्रियांगणे वाहनं सृगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(१) निर्मितं सवास्तधातुभक्तिभिः
पीठरक्षणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाणये हिमनिर्मित-
ममौ दधौ रूपः ॥(१) येन नीलजलदच्छविर्भिभुषंचलायुत इवाधिकं
वभौ ॥ २
- 28 २५ [॥*] जगति विद्युतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकलः ॥(१) रविचुरा-
धिपशेषसमोकलः ॥ प्रतिनिधिभुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥*] स नृवरो नृवरो-
चितवेपथ्व[त्]पव* नसृत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(१) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तरः(२)
सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः ॥ २२७ [॥*] दंडः हृत्पुं भीतोवदितविदित-
तो वधनं सारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षांगुलीतर्जनाद्यं ॥(१)
मेटः कोमोदुज्जानां हृतिरपिमनसचारुगोहेषु निखं यच्चिन् शास्त्रनर्षभवदिह
यमुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्यं ॥ २२८ [॥*] व्यस्तैराजजनं दिन(मं) दिनमधिपतैर्दधीद्यादि-
भिर्हानैरेभिरलंकृतानुकृतिकव्यापारपारमैः ॥(१)
- 30 सत्वेतौव निराकृतोद्य वसुधानाद्योरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानव समस्तदाननिलयं
ब्र(व)ह्माडदान(मं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥*] अमुष्मादुद्धतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः
समः प्रौढक्षोणीपरिवृढदोष्मादहतिषु ॥(१) चरित्रेण स्त्रीया(या)न्वयमति-
पवित्रेण कलयन् कालौ चर्मा(र्मा)धारो मुकुगरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥*] चं-
31 माः संघामभंगाः स्मृतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा वंशा गंगैकसंगा गतवि-
रुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संघामदीनाः खल्लदसिधनुषी
भीतिशृङ्कास्तुरका(तुरुष्काः) भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षापतमौ-
कलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥*] तापं तापं बाहुशौर्याग्निनासौ क्षेपं क्षेपं वैरिरक्षो-
दक्षौधे ॥(१) नायं नायं दा-
32 र्धमैवं कृपाणी मेटं मेटं भानुधिवं विवेज ॥ २३२ [॥*] इति महाराजाधिराज-
महाराणाधीश्वराकमोकलेद्रवणनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायराया-
राणैरायमहाराणादीकुंभकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां
पुण्यस्य गेहं श्रियामाधारः सुगुणोत्करस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धार्मीजसः ॥(१)
धैर्यस्या-

* "प्रतिभटचितिपैरसमोकलः" = प्रतिभटचितिपैः अकलः अकलः, धर्मा म. नाति कलः धर्मी प्रस
अकलः अकलः ।

* "रविचुराधिपशेषसमोकलः" = रविचुराधिपशेषसः अकलः : २२५ यः विद्युः तस्य कला यच्चिन् इति
विश्वोत्पातार इत्यर्थः ।

* "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः" मोकः मुक्तिं याति आददाति । मय उच्यते मही तयोः कला
अमी यच्चिन् अ मही मीकलयेति । (मः विद्युः and यः शिवः)

- 33 पि पराव(व)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्वाखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रगास्ति जगतो(र्ता)
श्रीकुंभकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ ॥*॥ समस्तदिक्षंडलतन्वयवर्णः स्फुरत्पतापाधरिता-
र्द्धवर्णः ॥(१) खदानभुम्बा जितभोजकर्णस्तनो मही रक्षति कुंभकर्णः ॥
२३४ ॥*॥ उपास्य जम्बचितये गजास्य कनीयसो मातरमेकगतेः ॥(१) श्रीकुंभ-
कर्णोयम-
- 34 लंभि माध्या सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयश्चिगतिः ॥ २३५ ॥*॥ चतः चित्तभुजा
मर्णनिजकुलस्य चूडामणिः प्रसिद्गुणसंभवो जगति कुंभनामा नृपः ॥(१)
पवीरमदभंजनः प्रमुदितः प्रजारंजनादजायत निजायतेक्षणजितेदिरामंदिरः ॥
२३६ ॥*॥ वेदानुवृत्त्य पञ्चाद्वयमपि भुजयोस्तौ विभर्ति चिणोति चूडान् वडा
- 35 बलिहिङ्गुलमहिततरङ्गवसुच्छाद्य हत्वा ॥(१) रत्नोत्पारिर्भूर्वाभिरुपगमनः सुचमी
स्नेच्छघाती जीयात् श्रीकुंभकर्णो दशविधस्तुतिस्तु श्रीपतिः कोपि मयः ॥
२३७ ॥*॥ लक्ष्मीगानंदकत्वात् चिभुवनरमणीचित्तसंभोजकत्वात्पावणावासभूत्वादपुर-
मस्ततया कुंभकर्णो महीदः ॥(१) काम कामोस्तु मोक्षीकुस्त इह परं
- 36 श्रीजनं जेतुकामः संपाप्तेन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नवं श्रीजनोश्रीजनोपि ॥
२३८ ॥*॥ वि(वि)भ्राजते सकलभूवलयेकवीरः श्रीमदपाटवसुधोदरगैकधीरः ॥(१)
शष्यैकलिंगनिजमेवक इत्युदाग कीर्त्तिप्रगस्तिरचनां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥*॥
एकजिगनितयं च खंडितं मोक्षतोरणलसम्पत्तिचक्रं ॥(१) भानुवि-
- 37 मिलितोन्नपताकं सुंदरं पुनरकारय नृ(यसु)पः ॥ २४० ॥*॥ मा सूर्यभ्यदतुच्छ-
द्रुमजलधिशच्छोच्छलदीचिस्तत्त(वः)शक्तुगपूर्वपूरुषयस्तत्तकुच[द*]वृत्ति-
मत् ॥(१) इत्यं चारु विचार्य कुंभरुपतिस्तानेकलिंग अधात् रत्नान् मंडपह्रिमदंड-
कलशांस्तेनोच्चगोभातिगान् ॥ २४१ ॥*॥ निःशंका काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भे-
- 38 यः ॥(१) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुंभकर्णोयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ ॥*॥ व्रजति
विजयघातां यत्र विजस्तायचौ हयचूरय(श्च)रचातोत्स्नातधूलीनिलीनं ॥(१)
गगनतलमशेषं वीज(श्च)संजातमोहो नयति रविरवाष्टान् सारथिः माहसि-
क्यात् ॥ २४३ ॥ श्रीचिन्मूढविभुरयमुन्नततरवाग्निशालितासतिः ॥(१) गिरिजा-
चरणसरोरुचरो-
- 39 लंङः कुंभरुपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥*॥ विख्यात(कीर्त्तिगु*)हृदत्तकुमाणशालिवाहजय-
प्रसूतिभपतिवंगरं ॥(१) श्रीदेवतचतुर्पमोकलभमिपालसिंहासनं सफलयत्न

- कुम्भकर्णः ॥२४५॥*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नाया निरंतरमचोकरद्व-
 दास्य ॥(१) तां कुम्भकर्णद्वपतेरिच कः सहेत बाणावलीमम-
 40 संगरसंचरिणोः ॥ २४६ ॥*] योगिनीपुरमजयमयसौ योगिनीचरणकिंकरो रूपः ॥(१)
 कुंतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोषहीत् ॥२४७॥*] चरिदमः छाहिसरो-
 जलग्नं विभीथ्य शोधाधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(१) अरुतुदं कंटकमिहतेजा भंजाचि-
 पद्ममितलेसशिष्या ॥ २४८ ॥*] येन वैरिमुखं हत्वा
 41 मंडोवरपुरगृहे ॥(१) अनायि शांति(ति) रोषा[मि]नामरीनयनांनुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥*]
 विष्टा हचौरपुरं शरीकरैर्निगृह्य तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(१) पर्यवहीद-
 वु(वु)जमंजुलोचना महीमहेदो नरपालकन्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥*] नानादिभ्यो(ग्भ्यो)
 राजकन्याः समेत्य क्षोणीपालं कुम्भकर्णं अयति ॥(१) सत्वं रत्नं जायते
 सागरादौ
 42 युक्तं विष्णोर्वच एवास्य धामः(म) ॥ २५१ ॥*] अत्ताः काश्चिद्वटेन प्रतिनृपति-
 भटान् दंडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राजन्यवर्यैर्जनगजतुंगैः साहसानीय
 दत्ताः ॥(१) अन्धाः मोहाविधाटीवलज्जतहरणाः प्रत्यहं राजकन्या नव्या
 नव्या महीभृक्षुविधि परिणयत्वेव कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥*] स ध १
 धान्यनग-
 43 रमासूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(१) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥*]
 ज्वालावलीवलयिता ध्यतनोद्यवाली मचीरवीरमुदवीषहृदेष नीरं ॥(१) यो
 वर्तमानगिरिमातु(श) विजित्य तस्मिन्नेदानम(म)दमद्वद्विधोनधाक्षीन्(त्) ॥
 २५४ ॥*] जवाली दवालीशिखावच्छिखालीममालीढभालीकरालीप्रताली ॥(१) ग-
 44 भीराधकारं चणाद्यस्य संख्येचिपटत्वेप्यमन्यैर्नयद्रूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥*] जनकाचलमुच-
 शेष(ख)रं बलवन्मालवनाद्यमस्तके ॥(१) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुज्जतस्वरणं वाममिव
 न्यधादयं ॥ २५६ ॥*] महीचजनकाचले निखिलमाखवक्ष्यापतेर्गले पदमिव
 न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(१) सरांसि जयवर्द्धनेज्जत पुरेपि यो
 45 वर्तने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुखदुतिः ॥ २५७ ॥*] जनकाचलमयहीदलं
 महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(१) गिरिसुंदरखोलच्छेडनावनिवक्ष्यायुध एष भूपतिः
 ॥ २५८ ॥*] प्रत्यर्धिपार्थिवपराजयजन्महेतुहंदावतीपुरमदीद्वद्वेपवीरः ॥(१) तह-
 राराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन संचोभमाप यदपारपराक्रम-

* This however spoils the metre.

† Wrongly used for subhojagat !

40. ॥ २५८ [॥*] मन्नारणपुरं द(व)रेखमनलज्वालावलीदं ब्रध्मादीरः सिद्धपुरीम-
बीभरद^१सिद्धध्वस्तवैरिजैः ॥(१) यत्नं रत्नपुरप्रभजनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नाथं
नाथमनेकराजनिकरान् वारागृहेधीवसत् ॥ २५९ [॥*] यदातीनां पादलजं
सपादलजनीहतं ॥(१) कृत्वा मन्नारणवीरो रणभूमं तद्याजयत् ॥
47. २६१ [॥*] आस्रदाद्रिदलनेन दाक्षणः कोटडावालहकेलिकेसरी ॥(१) कुंभकर्णनृपति-
र्ब(व)वावटीधूलनोडन(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [॥*] नम्मानेकनृपालमौलिनिकर-
प्रत्नमहोराङ्गरचेणीरक्षिमिलवच्छद्युतिभरः शत्रून् रणप्रांगणे ॥(१) दीर्घादीनितबाहुदंष्ट-
विलसत्वोदंडदंडोक्त[॥*]बाणास्तान्
48. वि(रच)य्य मंडलकरं दुर्मं क्षणेनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [॥*] जित्वा देशमनेकदुर्गविषमं
हाडावटीं जित्वा तद्यायान् करदान्निधाय च जयस्तमानुदस्तंभयत् ॥(१)
दुर्मं गोपुरमथ पटपुरमपि पौडां च वृंदावतीं श्रीमन्मंडलदुर्गमुच्चविलसच्छाला
विशालां पुरीं ॥ २६४ [॥*] उत्खातमूलं सलिलैः प्रभंजन इव द्रुमं ॥(१)
49. विशालनगरं राजा समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २६५ [॥*] तद्यागरीनयत्र(न)नोरतरंगिणी-
नामंगीकृतं किमु समुत्तरणं तुरंगैः ॥(१) श्रीकुंभकर्णनृपतिः प्रथितोर्णभूपे-
रालोडयद्विरिपुरं यदमीभिरुपः ॥ २६६ [॥*] यदीयगर्जहजतूर्यघोषसिंहस्वनाक-
र्षणनटशौर्यः ॥(१) विहाय दुर्मं रुद्रसा पलायांचकार
50. गैपालमृगालवालः ॥ २६७ [॥*] त्वक्का दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना वक्ता येन
सारंगपुर्या ॥(१) योषाः पौडाः पारसीकाधिपानां ज्ञाः संस्थातुं नैव शक्नोति
कीपि ॥ २६८ [॥*] महीमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः क्षम्यामिधातेन धनार्जनत्वे ॥(१)
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोच्य महंमदं त्वाजितवान्महंमदं ॥ २६९ [॥*] गर्जको(ष)-
51. तिमिरियाकुलतरं रंगतुरंगोर्मिमन्नातंगोहतनक्रचक्रममितं प्राकारवेलाचनं ॥(१)
पतङ्गपुराग्निवाडयमसौ यन्मालवांभोनिधिं क्षोणीशः पिबति स्म खड्गचुलुक-
स्तन्मादगन्धः स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ संवत् [१५१० वर्षे शा.....]

^१ Correctly *agubharat*.

^२ Read *grah-chaugat*.

No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gokak in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*¹ but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are three in number each measuring about 6½" in length and 2½" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 43½ tolas and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Śāṇḍakka and the crest of the Śāṇḍakka was probably an elephant.² It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshtrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either Garuda or lion.³ Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tirthahakka in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *līlāchakṛāṇa*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kirttivarman I which is dated in the Śaka year 500,⁴ the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalāśa⁵ (602 A. D.), the Koppāram plates⁶ and the Aihole inscription of Pulakāśin II.⁷ The inscription gives us two forms of long *ḍ*. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *ḍaḥḥḥḥḥḥ* in line 20 and *Ḍṛyapandya-chāryya* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *uṣṭa(ha)ṇ-cha* (l. 16) and *ḍ* in *Ḍṇḍāvira* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *ṭ* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *akṣara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *ṛ* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (e.g., in *pariyantān*, l. 13). The letter *ḷ* is found in *Jambūkhanda* (l. 9) and *ḷ* in *Jalāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *va* in lines 2 and 18. As regards orthography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhomāra* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *chatur-simāri* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

¹ Vol. I, No. II, pp. 43 ff.² *Rev. Ind.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 262. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Śāṇḍakka chief Pegūll (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 149).³ *Ibid.*, p. 266.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58.⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.⁶ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 232.⁷ *Above*, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmā-tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *antaś-cha* for *antaś-cha* in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty *ajettanas* of land in the Jajjra-grāma village situated in the Kashmirādī-vishaya to *śāhāryya* Āryyayandin of the Jambūkhagga-gopa for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *adhirāja* Indrapāṇḍa, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyasmarāja of the Sēndraka family. Indrapāṇḍa is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dēja-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kinge had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kinge with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kinge. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Varddhamaṇa, the 24th Jaina Tirthaṅkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyika or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Maurya emperor Chandragupta in B. C. 312-13—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indrapāṇḍa, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *adhirāja* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas¹ only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwa plates of Jayasakti² furnish the following pedigree:—

Bhīmasakti
|
Adityasakti
|
Nikumbhallasakti
|
Jayasakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā grant of Nikumbhallasakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi³ in the Bijapur District and mention the prince Bhīmasakti⁴ who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyākṛaya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukya. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalwa plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indrapāṇḍa found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II⁵.

¹ *Calcutta edition of Bhīmasakti* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.

² *Proc. J. B. S.*, 1892, pp. 273-8.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 292.

⁴ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Bombay for 1894, pp. 109-11.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 263-4.

⁶ Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1925-26.

⁷ *Abaco*, Vol. III, p. 61.

[illegible]

29. A

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iii-a.

16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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SEAL OF THE GOKAR PLATES.



From a photograph

SCALE: FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

- 9 parvata-pratyāsauna-Jaḷāra-grāmaḥ Jambūkhanda-gaṇa-paṇḍhāya } Jāma-
10 dārlana-tapaś-saṃpannāya Aryyaṇandyāchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 t-pratim-ānavatata-pūj-ārthasā ākṣhaka-giāna-vṛddhānām cō tapasvinām val-
12 yūpity-ārthasā grāmasy-ōttaratāḥ Pūrvviga-grāma-virīya-senakari da¹
13 kshloāna Muṇja-jalamārgga-paryyantān aparatōlāḥ Eudāvīrut-sa-
14 hita-valmīkīnā tasmād-ōttaratāḥ pashkura(i)ḥ tataś-cha yāvat-pūrvva-virīya-
15 kām rāja-mānasa pañchāśan-nivartana-pramāṇa-kshōtran-da-

Third Plate : First Side.

- 16 itavān-ānā-yō harati sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṃyuktō bhavati || Un(k)taś-
17 Bahubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājābhiaḥ-Sugar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 [ta]ḥ-tajaya tasya tadā phalaṃ || [2 (*)] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yō harēta vasmudharām
19 śhaśtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viśvāyām jāyatō krimiḥ || [3 (*)] Shashīm
varsha-sahasrāṇi
20 svargō nandati bhūmidas āchchhōtā cō-ānemaṇṇā cha tāny-ēva narakō
vuaḥ || [4 (*)]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hall ! May the bright and delusion-destroying character of Vardhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Vardhamāna-gaṇa and who is the source of his lota, prosper !

(Lines 2-10). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āgaptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Vardhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tirihankaras, had elapsed, the illustrious adhīrāja Indrapanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sōndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dājja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty nīratanas by the royal measure in the village of Jaḷāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kāshmāpdi to Aryyaṇandyāchāryya, who belonged to the Jambūkhanda-gaṇa and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penances, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Ariha, for the (maintenance of) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are) :—to the north of the village the boundary is the virīga of the Pūrvviga village ; to the south, up to the Muṇja canal ; to the west, the ant-hill including Eudāvīrut ; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern virīga.

(L. 16). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said :—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

¹ The letter da seems to have been extracted from da.

No. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

BY RAI BAHADUR DATA RAM SARNI, C.I.E., M.A.

The Central Museum at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early months of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 16. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spandharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Boner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahabax* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nuriani* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhon, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A. D., i.e., about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*.¹ Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained undated.² In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Panjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

I. Sira Inscription of circa 6th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2' 3" in width by 2½" in height.

¹ Part I, Appendix I, p. 258.² These have been noticed by me in *P. R. A. S., N. C.*, 1918-19, pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven *aksharas* of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 13½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The characters belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

- 1 ये[नाव]र्षच्छ्रुता पूजाराधनमादरेण च चरन्त्यो राज्य-
(ज)ते सर्वदा [१*] १६¹ [१*] दयाव्यायनिवि'
- 2 [परा] काळा [गतः] संपदो यन्वाचानिहृतायने मन्म-
षमायेन दग्धा द्विष[१*]¹
- 3 [महत्वा च धीरः] विभुवनमद्वयस्त्वैवन्दुमूर्ध्वैर्योभिः
[१*] १६² [१*] धामाद्या[ति]मनीष¹

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 13).....who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent.....

(Verse 14).....who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (his) enemies were frequently consumed like moths.....

(Verse 16).....who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon.....

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hisar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 1", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The characters belong to the 9th century A. D. and the **Bhōjadēva** whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Peshawar.* No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

* Meisei: *Swatthavileitida*.

† Meisei: *Mahat*.

* Kailash, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc.; Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 23, 24, 25, 1312.

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhūpadēva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāṇpata sect named Ratnarsā, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last feet has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, i.e., Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śaṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the causes of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nilakaṇṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*dharmad*) of Yōgīśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛṣṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakṣmī and with the images of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *kinnaṛas*, *śiddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakṣmī.

TEXT.

- 1
 2 तुरङ्ग चक्षुस्त्रिजलः
 3 भुवनं येन । . . परमहेतया । चेतसापि न बद्धके । मङ्ग परम-
 हेतया ॥ [११४]^१ श्रीभोजदेवे गुण [॥१२०*]^२
 4 य सितशिखः कलहमुक्तः परमागमागौ । बभूव नास्मा
 भुवि रत्नराशिस्त[यो]मयः पाशुपतापणीव ॥^३
 5 [य]थैकनिष्ठौ जितमन्त्रवस्तुया शशाङ्कलेखाकरजालनिर्मलः ।
 सुरस्रवन्तीवहनातिमोभितरस्वर्य पिनाकीव विराजमानः [॥१५०*]^४
 6 हिमशैलसुतापतिवचमदा [॥१५१]^५ हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च
 [मि]थौ कनकाभविशालशिलानिचये । सरसोत्तरसां [॥१७०*]^६

^१ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

^२ Metre: Indravajrā [The metre of this verse has been taken as Indravajrā but the reading is Bhāgavata which would show that possibly the metre was Yaśashtilaka.—Ed.]

^३ Metre: Uṣṭadravijrā.

^४ Metre: Pāṇinīya.

^५ Metre: Tāpala.

- 7 सारमेयाभिधेयं । भवभयपरिमुक्तं सा(मां)तसंसारहेतु-
व्ययितुमिह सार्मं शाङ्करं सोवनीन्दुः ॥१८॥^१ शिष्यस्तस्य स(ग)मान्वित
.
- 8 परिचयो निर्द्वयसर्वाग्रभो ज्ञातश्चेयतयातिनिर्मलमना योगै-
कनिष्ठानिव ॥१८॥^२ तस्यापि शिष्यस्तस्य भूव गा[न्तो] [॥२०*॥]^३
- 9 विभङ्गलोत्तं । संसारसौख्यं मक्तं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा
तथा दौघनमप्य[सारं] । पयोधि[वीची]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥^४ येना . . .
- 10 स्त्रे ॥२२॥ आश्रमकार्पीह्रुवि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताचक्षि-
भूपगणसमयः । शशाङ्कलिखाकलितो[रुमः] [॥२३॥*]^५
- 11 योनीलकण्ठस्तथा । ईशान-पृथिवीभुजां समभव-
द्दामोष्मरो यादिनाभिलेकोपि चकार रूपमनिर्गम्यभोरनेकं नि[जं] . .
. [॥२४॥*]^६
- 12 शान्तये योगीश्वरस्य भवनं महतो महोदयः ॥२५॥^७
पक्षेष्टकारचितमेतदुदयमासौख्यं(श्च)य यद्वनशिलाभयमेव यत्तु (?) [१*]
[सोचोकरश्चरम] [॥२६॥*]^८
- 13 तिततभूमिविमिश्रयं । स्तुकाचने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया
नितान्तं कैलासगैलशिखरश्च(त्रि)यमादधानं ॥२८॥^९ लक्ष्मीयुतं(त)मुररियो
. [॥२९॥*]^{१०}
- 14 देवदैत्यगन्धर्व्वद्यक्षगणकिञ्चरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिववपु[ष्कृ]-
तविश्वरूपं सा
- 15 [॥३१॥*]^{११} भयनं रमणीयतायां
निशेषशिल्पयिभव
- 16 रागिरिव ॥३२॥^{१२}
- 17
- 18

^१ Metro: *Millini*.^२ Metro: *Śāradāvarīṇī*.^३ Metro: *Indramprā*.^४ Metro: *Upajit*.^५ Metro: *Pāṇinīyaka*.

No. 1.



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No. 2.



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III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The characters are Nagari of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Krishna (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises *Rājā Śatrughna-dēva* who equalled Lakshmana and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant (His son) (V. 4) was named because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulākhā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākavi* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Vishnu diaphanous'.

I am unable to identify the *Rājā Śatrughnadēva* who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. * Tribhāṇḍanapura mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler Śatrughnadēva in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapala of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.

TEXT.

- 1 गदामलपाञ्चजन्यबीजाष्टताखिलजगत्तितयैवतुर्भिः ।
दोभिः हरिः हर
- 2 सयं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥¹ [१०*]
जयति जगदतचरणचरणरजः श-
- 3 [1] लक्ष्मणभरतप्रतिमो राजा प्रबुद्धदेवोयम् ॥² [११*] आसीत्ति-
भाण्ड[नपुर]गुण-
- 4 [रत्नशाली*] विवरत्नमयामलवीः [1*] [सुच]चियान्वयविभूषण-
मुज्ज्वलिन ख्यातिव्रतः व्रिति-
- 5 [नल*] ॥³ [१२*] [तस्मात्*]जः कलिमलचयकारिनामा
[चौदाम] इत्यभवद्यतिमक्तिपूतः⁴ [1*] तापच्छि-

* Metre : Vasantatilaka.

* Metre : Arya.

* One syllable seems to be missing in this pāda.

- 6 — — — — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तोयः] ॥
 स्यात्तद्वि[यो] जगति [चारु]कनाम चामो
 7 [कल्पक]निज . . . श्री . . . नृलिङ्गा — — एव सा सुचरितसु
 8 मङ्गल इराज सोलन्ययुत
 9 शानक
 10
 11
 12 सतत
 13 तस्य । गोविन्द परम
 14 [महाकवि] [चन्द्रमणि] देव
 महाराज
 15 सामन्तमित्रप्रति
 16 भक्तिचरैर्हन्ति यच्च दि-
 17 सम्यद्वच खिरसुव
 18 पुत्र समुद्र
 19

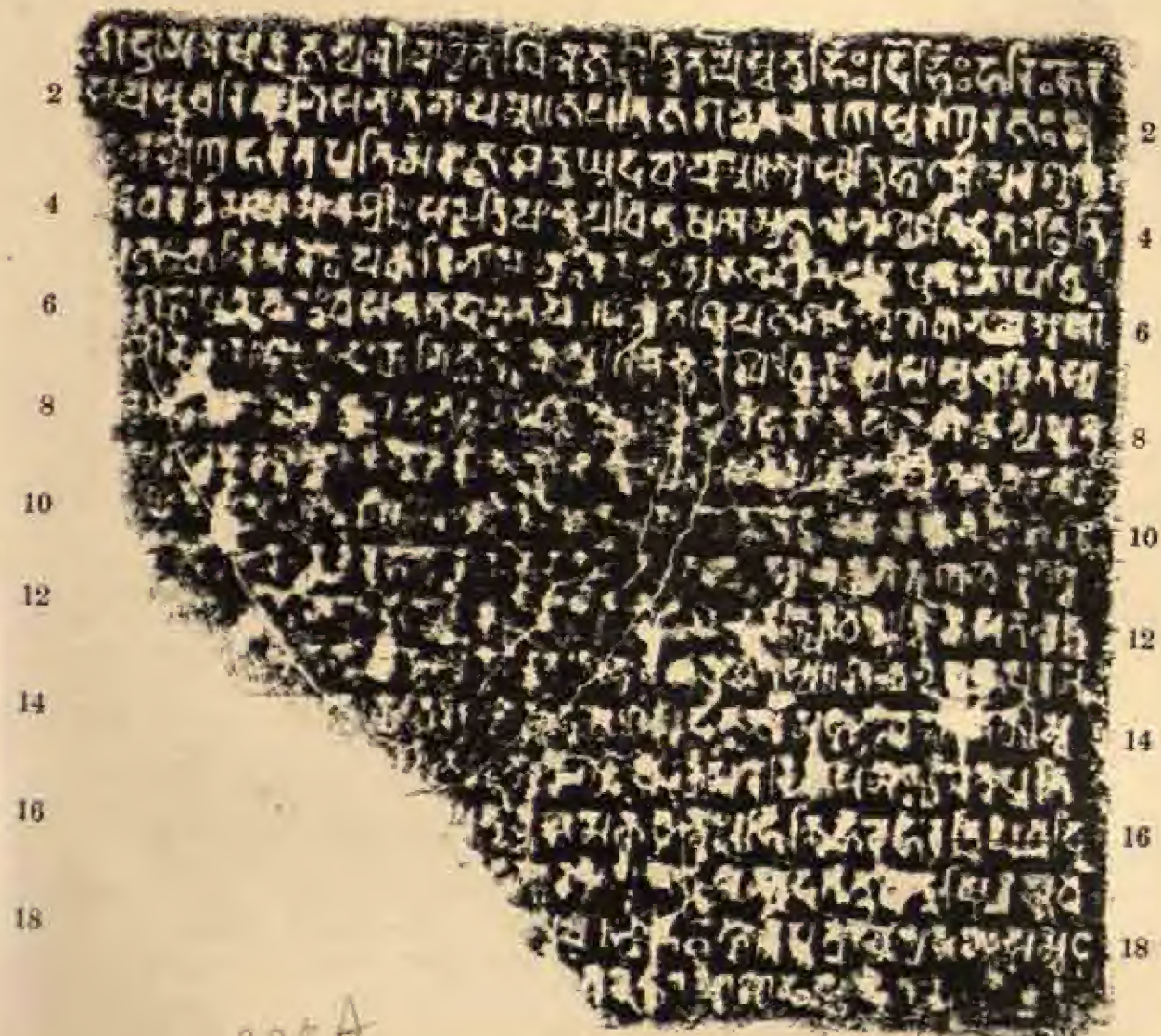
The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bühler and Hœrle's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1500. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Devāsāha continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

IV. Dewal Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhīmadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewal, Gaden territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Śāradā characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extent portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

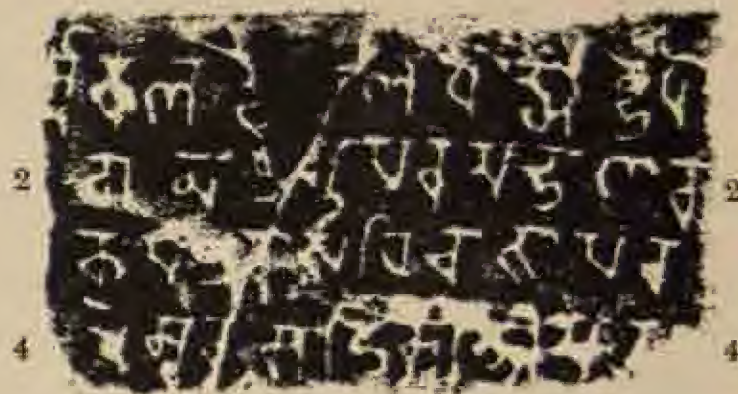
¹ Meter : Paśāntikā.

No. 3.

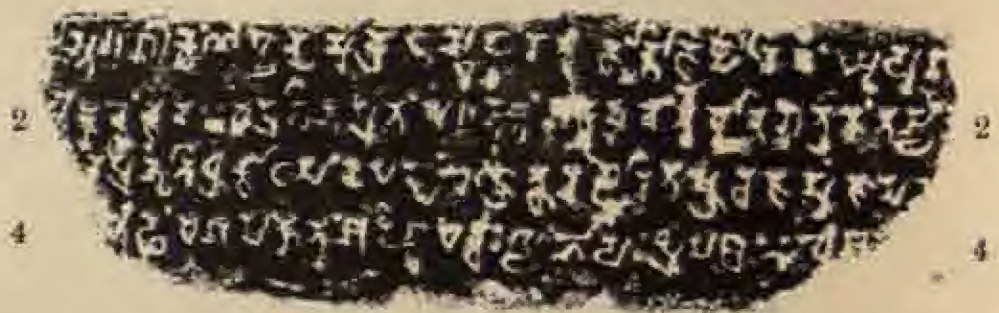


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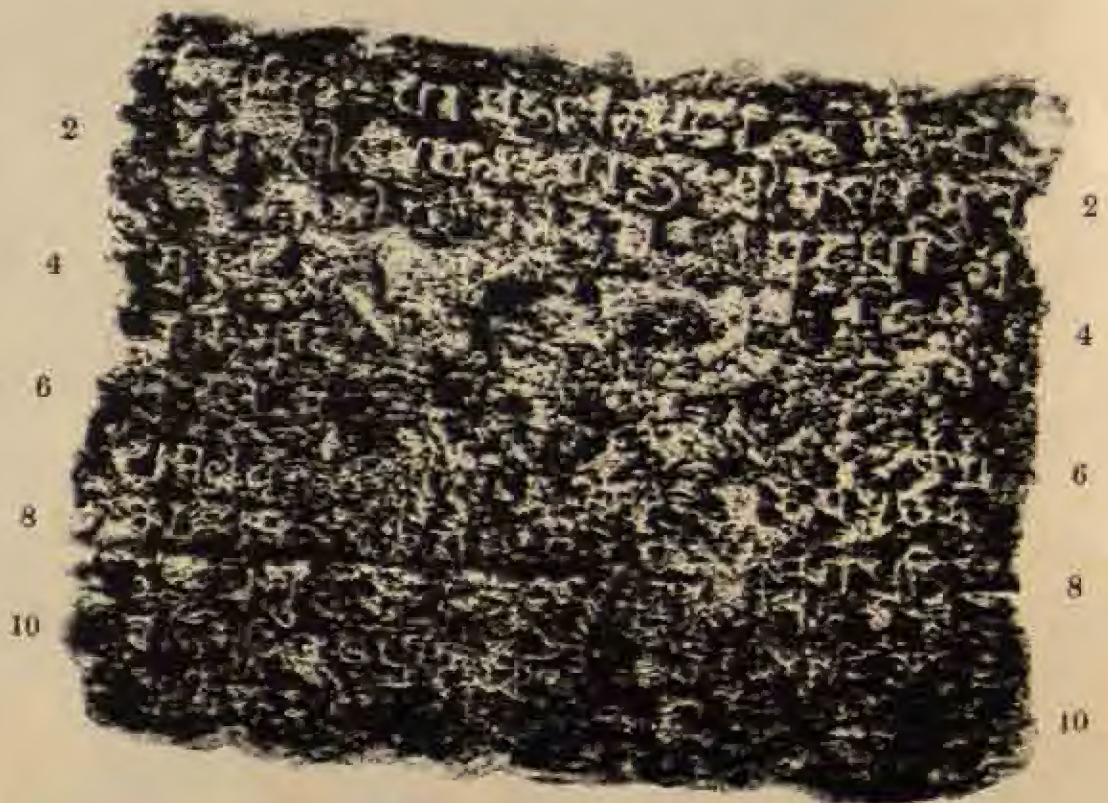
No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.



TEXT.

- 1 श्रीकल[क] . . स्वमोहव-
 2 गदाहस्त परमभदार-
 3 कमहाराजाधिराजपर-
 4 मेखरसाहिनीभौमदे[व] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shāhi, the illustrious Bhīmadēva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala(kama)-lavanman."

The king Bhīmadēva mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (*History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, page 504) from A. D. 940 to 969.¹ This Bhīmadēva was the grandfather of Duldā, the wife and successor of Kshēmagupta, King of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lohara king named Sūha Rāja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 958.

Alberuni describes the Shāhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab as Brāhmaṇas. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings whose names end in देव, i.e., Vēṇakadēva, Kallar or Spalpatidēva, Śāmantadēva, and Bhīmadēva must indeed have been Brāhmaṇas, the last four kings, Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, Trilochanapāla and Bhīmapāla were Rājput Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshēmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of Bhīmadēva was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhīmadēva must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhīmadēva ends in *varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Doane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e., 23 aksharas in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 85 syllables, consisting of the last five aksharas of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Sāṅgalakṛīṇī* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.²

¹ For two very rare coins of Bhīmadēva, see Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

² [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—P.J.]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the poet of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son* of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *mūṣa* grass was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

- 1 [स्मृति] ॥
 गौर्वाण्डुन्दमुकुटस्फुटरत्नकान्ति-
 किर्मीरितांधु(वि)युग[ल] ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [1*]
 — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — —
- 2 — — जुनोजुन इव प्रशितप्रताप[ः] ॥^१
 भक्तो [भक्त] मनोनुष्ठितचतुरो तस्मा ॐ — — ॐ —
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — — [1*]
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — — [1*]^२
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — — [1*]^३
- 3 — — रघुसूतिधुञ्जतिपादपद्म-
 रणुत्तरचक्रुरितसूधजमुजमा[ल] [1*]
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — —
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — — [1*]^२
- 4 — — धीवगमधुतागदध्वध्व-
 स्वातो यः प्रमद इवेग — ॐ — — [1*]
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — —
 — — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — — [1*]^३

* [The reading seems to be *dhātā* (*dhātā*)-*manō-nuṣṭiti-chaturā*. The feminine gender as well as the word *dhātā* shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]

^१ Metre: *Paṇḍitaśloka*.

^२ Metre: *Śaṅkhaśloka*.

^३ Metre: *Prakāśaśloka*.

VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10½" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *Śak saṁvats 100*, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladēva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajrasthāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Hāmadēva and contemporary of Amir Sabuktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-
- 2 मेखरत्रयजयपालदेवराज्ये यौवजीरस्थाने
- 3 भद्रयुव त्रीपौष (१) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभप्रार्थिते
- 4
- 5 . . . एभिस्त्रिभिः
- 6 कर्म
- 7 प्रभव उद
- 8 कर्म प्रतिष्ठा
- 9 तस्य . . . रय प्रतिष्ठित . . . क — — रापितः
- 10 एभिस्त्रिभिः
- 11

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